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COMMITTEE ON EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
The University of Alberta

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STUDENT VALUES AS EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES
by Michael Scriven, Indiana University

METHODS OF PREDICTING FRESHMAN SUCCESS: SUMMARY AND EVALUATION
by Donald B. Black, University of Calgary

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SPECIAL ISSUE

MODELS IN RESEARCH AND THEORY

Articles by:

Elizabeth and George Maccia, The Ohio State University

Marc Belth, Queens College, City University of New York

Charles J. Brauner, University of British Columbia

Ronald Jones, The University of Alberta
and others

Editorial Comment

RESEARCH AND PUBLICATION

With this number the *Alberta Journal of Educational Research* begins the twelfth volume. During the twelve years spanned by the volumes the scope, purpose, form and context of research in education and its associated fields have changed markedly. Calculations that even quite recently were laboriously performed by hand with the aid of desk calculators are now completed in infinitesimally short time by electronic data processing machines. Studies that even a few years ago could not be handled because the analysis of the data was too complicated and too laborious can now be undertaken without effort. There has been a revolution in research methodology, but, its import may not be understood by many who are involved in it.

This revolution has brought problems which are perhaps more complex and more significant than those solved by the computers. There exists today another kind of revolution. The ease with which research can be done has led to much doing of research but there are many researchers and research interested individuals who are concerned with questioning the methodology and the assumptions on which research studies are based. Research designs and techniques are borrowed from other fields and although the assumptions underlying statistical methods are formally acknowledged their ramifications are not adequately comprehended. There is growing awareness for the need to rigorously examine methodology and the logical bases on which it rests.

This has brought about interest in the logical foundations of all research and, of course, particularly educational research. Until very recently it would have been difficult to find articles concerned with the logical or philosophical bases of research in research journals. Even now these topics tend to be found only in journals devoted to the philosophy of science which are infrequently read by educational researchers.

Computer programmers learn to use special languages without fully understanding the logical syntax of these languages. The language of statistics is learned and used by many who fail to understand its basis or meaning. The assignment of numerical values and coefficients to observations is often questionable. Researchers introduce postulates and formulate theories without being adequately informed about the logic of theory development. Models in a variety of forms are used to provide the bases for description and explanation of data but little is known by the users about the criteria applicable to model formation. We design instruments for measuring aspects of education and assign to them

numerical coefficients for reliability and validity without considering the logical bases of these properties. Research studies are designed and executed and the results published but they have little influence upon the educative process because the practising educators are either unaware of of them or unable to interpret them. The researchers do research for teachers and administrators but little effort is made to provide adequate interpretation or to show how it can be applied in the practical situation.

These are but a few of the problems associated with research that are awaiting attention. The pages of this journal are open to any article on any topic related to or associated with systematic enquiry. Direct and obvious relevance for educaton is not a *necessary* requirement. The Editorial Board includes a wide variety of skills and specialized interests and will welcome manuscripts devoted to any and every type of research—empirical, philosophical, historical, etc.—; to exposition, criticism or evaluation of research designs and programmes; to any aspect of the logical bases of research; to ways and means of more effectively using research resources; to methods that can be used to translate and interpret the specialized reports of researchers for practising educators; and particularly to the education of research personnel in sufficient numbers and with proficiencies appropriate for the many areas in which research activity is necessary.

The word 'research' possesses a connotation so specialized that there is a tendency to believe that useful research can be carried on only by highly and specially trained people. As a result a large reservoir of talent remains untouched. If given some guidance and assistance with the technical problems of design and analysis encountered by empirical studies, or some assistance with the techniques for handling the documents and artifacts of historical studies, then, every teacher can make some contribution to our knowledge of the educational endeavour. Many teachers are ready to participate; many specialists are willing to advise and assist them. The factors which keep the two groups apart are administrative and political rather than technical. Nor do they stem, as is often contended, from lack of finance except in the sense that financial support is not made available. Our school systems are insufficiently flexible to allow research oriented teachers reasonable time and facilities for research and too inflexible to seek the services of competent consultants who could encourage and assist teachers. This lack of flexibility stems in part from failure to realize that research carried on in school classrooms can be valuable and need not be detrimental to the students (probably beneficial) and in part from the assumption that teachers can't do useful research.

Regular readers will notice that this issue introduces changes in the style and format. These changes have been made after careful consideration and extensive consultation. They are designed to improve readability and increase readership and to allow greater flexibility with respect to layout. When the format of a publication restricts layout it also

restricts the range of the material that can be published. These physical changes and the broadening of editorial policy through the emphasis exemplified above indicate awareness that confinement to reporting empirical research is an inadequate objective for a research journal. The provision of an avenue for publication must be coupled with positive efforts to improve the quality of systematic enquiry by critically examining studies; to increase the dissemination and utilization of findings by providing adequate interpretations; to increase the range of types and forms of research by using the term less restrictively; and, to encourage understanding of the role and value of enquiry. Above all it must concentrate upon the encouragement of informed constructive criticism and discussion of research methodology and, particularly, the theoretical issues involved. To contributing to these aspects the editor is committed but significant achievements are unlikely unless those who are interested and active provide the raw material in the form of substantial manuscripts. This is a research journal and the only criterion for the determination of appropriate content is research relatedness, but 'research' may be taken to mean systematic enquiry in any of its many forms.

G. R. Eastwood
Editor

The term 'research' is too often understood as referring exclusively to empirical and statistical studies. In this article the author presents the salient features of the writings and the influence on education of Hannah More, a late eighteenth century English Evangelical. Although a summary of a much more extensive study it is a good example of rigorous historical research.

PETER J. MILLER

University of Alberta

Hannah More and Eighteenth Century Women's Education

Introduction

There is, at present, little agreement about the nature and function of educational history. One of the less ambitious but perhaps more worthwhile approaches to the subject is that of the historian who considers it his task to make clear to his contemporaries how and what people of a previous age felt and thought about events while they were happening. To be able to understand and sympathise with the mode of thought of a previous age is the only sure way to appreciate how subsequent states of affairs came to develop. Ultimately, of course, it enables one to gain some insight into one's own age's modes of thought and feeling. Such an approach to history is particularly relevant in education, where the legacy of the past is always widespread and potent.

It was just such a view of the function of the historian that led to this particular research. In the writings of Hannah More, one is brought face to face with a truly representative example of the most respectable and acceptable educational viewpoint of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. To appreciate her educational ideas is to understand many of the prevailing and subsequent attitudes to women's education.

She was born in 1745, near Bristol, of middle-class parents. By the time she was twenty she was operating, with her sisters, a successful boarding school for young ladies of rank. Before long, she had established herself as the most noted woman poet and playwright of her age. She became close friends with most of the foremost literary and artistic figures of the day, including Dr. Johnson, Sir Joshua Reynolds and David Garrick. More important, she was continually sought after by members of fashionable society, and consequently gained powerful political, social and ecclesiastical allies.

In 1785, however, she abandoned polite society and her literary career, and dedicated herself to the reformation of the social and religious *mores* of her countrymen. She became a leading figure in the Evangelical party of the Church of England, closely bound by its ties of friendship and common interests to the Clapham Sect, that small but immensely powerful body of "consistent Christians" led by William Wilberforce and Henry Thornton. With her sister, she was soon engaged in running a system of Sunday and day schools to bring religious instruction to the poor. In the 1790's, she initiated and organized an extremely ambitious scheme to provide the lower and middle orders with a regular supply of suitable literature. The success of the scheme is evident because in one year, 1796, over two million copies of her *Cheap Repository Tracts* were distributed throughout the country. Between 1788 and her death in 1833, she published eleven didactic and devotional works. Several of these were concerned directly with the problem of women's education and it is with an analysis of these works that this paper is concerned.

I—*More's Introductory Criticisms*

One of the interesting educational developments in England during the late eighteenth century was the interest which members of the upper and middle orders of society began to take in the education of their daughters. The key figures in stimulating this interest were women—perhaps the first really influential women educationists in history. They included in their ranks women from widely differing backgrounds who had little in common except their dissatisfaction with contemporary women's education. For example, the educational ideas of the three most influential writers, Maria Edgeworth, Mary Wollstonecraft and Hannah More, were based on profoundly different assumptions about the nature of man and society.

That Hannah More's books are rarely, if ever, read today (indeed, no complete edition of her works has been published for over a hundred years) should not blind one to the fact that, in her own day, her uncompromising Evangelicalism, established literary reputation and large circle of friends among "those who counted" made her the most influential critic of women's education. From her writings one is able to catch a glimpse of the thinking of the upper and middle orders of society. Her penetrating criticisms of contemporary female education throw considerable light on that often neglected area of educational history. Her recommendations are noteworthy in that they represent a combination of Evangelicalism, which in many respects anticipated the "Victorian Frame of Mind", and eighteenth century Enlightenment thought.

The several writings of Hannah More that bore directly or indirectly on female education all dealt with essentially the same problems and contained similar recommendations. Her first work was a slim volume entitled *Thoughts on the Importance of the Manners of the Great to General*

Society, published in 1788. Intended for those "commonly termed, by the courtesy of the world, *good kind* of people," the book pointed out that, although these people had many virtues—charity, generosity, good nature —they were devoid of a vital religion, and their actions sprang not from religious principles but mere human motives. Consequently, they possessed no consistency of moral behaviour, and many "petty domestic evils" were allowed to go unchecked. The book concluded with a strong plea to the influential to recognize their responsibility for setting an example of Christian piety for the rest of society.

The success of this first book encouraged her to write a second, a more lengthy treatise entitled *An Estimate of the Religion of the Fashionable World,* which appeared in 1790. Again, the book was addressed not only to those "who, whether from disbelief or whatever other cause, avowedly neglect the duties of Christianity, [but to that] decent class also, who, while they acknowledge their belief of its truth by a public profession, . . . yet exhibit little of its spirit in their general temper and conduct."[1] Its object was first to demonstrate "the visible decline in piety among the higher ranks," and then to

> . . . remark on the notorious effects of the decay of this religious principle, as it corrupts our mode of education, infests domestic conduct, spreads the contagion downwards among servants and inferiors, and influences our general manners, habits, and conversation.[2]

The fashionable, she asserted, tended to equate acts of benevolence with religious practice. But Christianity was more than a system of ethics; it "must be embraced entirely, if it be received at all."[3] There could be no consistency of moral behaviour which did not spring "from a settled propensity to obey the will of God."[4]

Christian principles, however, were not innate in man, and, since one did not become a Christian by accident, there was no hope for a reformation of society without the widespread introduction of a correct religious education for the children of the "great".

Her third and most important book concerning education was *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education with a View to the Principles and Conduct of Women of Rank and Fortune,* published in 1799. The book developed further the thesis, outlined briefly in her two previous works, that the irreligion and gay dissipation of fashionable women were due to a defective education which, rather than infusing correct Christian principles, tended only to prepare them for the frivolous society of which their parents were a part. The tone of the criticism was, if anything, more forthright than its predecessor, and the book's success considerable.

In 1805, at the request of Dr. Gray, Prebendary of Durham, she literally dashed off a guide for the education of the heir presumptive, Princess Charlotte, whose disastrous upbringing was becoming a matter

of profound concern to the nation. *Hints Towards Forming the Character of a Young Princess* appeared in the same year and was well received by the public and royal family.

Her final important educational work was written in 1808 and took the form of a novel. Its full title was *Coelebs in Search of a Wife: Comprehending Observations on Domestic Habits and Manners, Religion and Morals.* In the preface to the book, Miss More admitted that she was reluctant to allow this, her latest literary effort, to be published. She well realized that as a novel it had little to recommend it, and owned quite frankly that "the texture of the narrative is so slight, that it barely serves for a ground into which to weave the sentiments and observations which it was designed to introduce."[5]

For a novel of two volumes and some 800 pages, the plot is certainly a little thin. Coelebs (his real name is Charles) is a young well-to-do landowner, who, on the death of his pious parents, resolves to seek out a suitable wife. He decides to visit his father's best friend, the equally pious Mr. Stanley, and his family, who live not far from London. Lucilla, the well-educated, modest and very religious daughter of Mr. Stanley, possesses all those qualities which Charles had been taught to look for in a wife. By the end of the first volume, he has decided to propose to her. His rival suitor, a dissipated young lord, is also attracted by Lucilla's modesty and piety. But despite his good looks, his money and his title, he obviously has little chance of success. Eventually, Charles proposes, is accepted, and returns to his estate to await the wedding day.

Although the plot proceeds at a snail's pace and often slows to a complete stop for chapter after chapter, the book is never dull. The plot serves only to introduce the reader to character types from contemporary society. Once "on stage", each character, together with his or her family, is examined by the Evangelical Charles and Mr. Stanley, and he, his family and the education they are giving their children are judged in the cold light of a "vital" Christianity. The book is, in fact, a treatise on education designed, as Miss More herself pointed out, to show "how religion may be brought to mix with the concerns of ordinary life," to point out "material defects . . . in fashionable education," and to suggest that "females of the higher class may combine more domestic knowledge with more intellectual acquirement, that they may be at the same time more knowing and more useful."[6]

These were the principal educational works of Hannah More, and it is from these that her analysis of what ailed contemporary education and her educational recommendations must be drawn.

Most, if not all, of the defects of contemporary education sprang from the neglect of what should have been the cornerstone of all education, a recognition of the innate corruptness of human nature.

> Is it not a fundamental error to consider children as innocent beings, whose little weaknesses may perhaps want some correction, rather than beings who bring into the world a corrupt nature and evil dispositions, which it should be the great end of education to rectify?[7]

A failure to appreciate the significance of the general corruption of human nature as it applied to one's own children meant that no real effort was made to counteract it by instilling Christian principles and habits of restraint.

Hannah More attributed this de-emphasis of the depravity of human nature to the growing concern in the eighteenth century for the rights of man, which she believed was derived from a mistaken belief in the innate goodness of man. She made it clear to her readers that she had little time for talk about the abstract rights of man, and still less for discussions about the rights of women and children.

This view of man had disastrous effects upon education. In the first place, since children were thought of as innocent and "unaccountable" beings, it was not considered necessary to counter-act their natural desires by instilling early the principles of Christianity. Indeed, it had become the fashion to delay religious instruction until the youth was considered old enough to judge for himself the truth and value of religion. Even in those families which felt that religion should, perhaps, be included in the early education of their children, religious education consisted of "mere verbal rituals and dry systems, . . . too often considered as an act of the memory than of the heart and affections; as a dry duty, rather than a lively pleasure."[8] Without the restraining influence of Christian principles, young people rapidly fell prey to their uncontrolled appetites and desires.

Equally unfortunate was the fact that these appetites and desires were often considered not to require restraint. The emphasis on "natural goodness" and "rights" had resulted in children becoming over-indulged. As Mr. Stanley observes in *Coelebs,*

> I know not . . . whether the increased insubordination of children is owing to the new school of philosophy and politics, but it seems to me to make part of the system. When I go sometimes to stay with a friend in town to do business, she is always making apologies that she cannot go out with me—'her daughters want the coach.' —If I ask leave to see the friends who call on me in such a room,—'her daughters have company there, or they want the room for their music, or it is preparing for the children's ball in the evening' . . . There certainly prevails a spirit of independence, a revolutionary spirit, a separation from the parent state. IT IS THE CHILDREN'S WORLD.[9]

The desire of the upper and middle orders to see their daughters shine in the gay society to which they either belonged or hoped to belong resulted in an education that consisted almost entirely of giving the young what were commonly called "accomplishments". Although Hannah More recognized that "piety maintains no natural war with elegance," she insisted that the time and money "lavished on arts, which add little

to the intrinsic value of life, should have limitations."[10] What should have been one of the least important aspects of educaton was receiving most attention. One would have thought that "human life consisted of one universal holiday, and that the grand contest . . . was, who should be most eminently qualified to excel, and carry off the prizes in the various shows and games which were intended to be exhibited in it."[11] Thus, young ladies spent their time learning to play musical instruments, to sing, dance, paint and draw, dress in the latest fashion, and be charming to young men. Even very young children had their health and happiness jeopardized by their parents' insistence on their attending that appalling modern invention, the baby-ball, which was intended to prepare them for the gay social life to which they would fall heir. Yet what a travesty of childhood it was!

> To behold lilliputian coquettes, projecting dresses, studying colours, assorting ribands, mixing flowers, and choosing feathers; their little hearts beating with hopes about partners and fears about rivals; to see their fresh cheeks pale after the midnight supper, their aching heads and unbraced nerves, disqualifying the little languid beings for the next day's task; and to hear the grave apology, "that it is owing to the wine, the crowd, the heated room of the last night's ball"; all this, I say, would really be as ludicrous, if the mischief of the thing did not take off from the merriment of it, ... [12]

Not only was an education of accomplishments expensive in time and money that could more profitably be spent in some other way, it was largely a useless education, in the sense that it did not prepare the child for life as it was to be lived. The time to be spent in ball-rooms and at social gatherings charming young men would be much less than that to be spent running a home. Yet the arts of household economy and all they entailed were considered, if at all, greatly inferior to those which contributed to making an impressive showing in fashionable society. In *Coelebs,* for example, Mr. Flam, the village squire, has a daughter who can sing charmingly, and is busy learning to play the piano and harp, but who cooks atrociously and has not the least inkling how to manage a household. While Mr. Flam bemoans his lot, he can do nothing against his wife's passionate desire to have her daughter shine on the rare occasions that she will make her appearance in polite society.

The superficiality of this kind of educaton was most obvious in its intellectual aspects. Knowledge was no longer considered valuable for its intrinsic interest, utility of mental discipline value; it was an ornament to be purchased and paraded in company. The ease and speed with which the acquisition of the ornament could be made were the criteria for judging the worth of a teacher or book. Thus, education had degenerated into little more than a series of techniques designed to enable the young lady to acquire rapidly and easily the outward signs of being learned, without, in fact, having learned anything.

In *Coelebs,* Miss More brilliantly illustrated this superficial education which, seeking to teach everything, succeeded in accomplishing little or

nothing. On being questioned by Mr. Stanley about her activities during the past winter, young Miss Rattles replies,

> I have not been idle, if I must speak the truth. One has so many things to learn, you know. I have gone on with my French and Italian of course, and I am beginning German. Then comes my drawing master; he teaches me to paint flowers and shells, and to draw ruins and buildings, and to take views. He is a good soul, and is finishing a set of fire-screens which I began for mamma. He *does* help me to be sure, but I do some of it myself, don't I mamma? . . .
>
> And then . . . I learn varnishing, and gilding, and japaning [sic]. And next winter I shall learn modelling, and etching, and engraving in mezzotinto and aquatinta, for Lady Di. Dash learns etching, and mamma says, as I shall have a better fortune than Lady Di, she vows I shall learn everything she does. Then I have a dancing master, who teaches me the Scotch and Irish steps; and another who teaches me attitudes, and I shall soon learn the waltz, and I can stand longer on one leg already than Lady Di . . . Then I have a singing master, and another who teaches me the harp, and another for the pianoforte. And what little time I can spare from these *principal* things, I give my odd minutes to ancient and modern history, and geography, and astronomy, and grammar, and botany. Then I attend lectures on chemistry and experimental philosophy, for as I am not yet come out, I I have not much to do in the evenings: and mamma says, there is nothing in the world that money can pay for ,but what I shall learn. And I run so delightfully fast from one thing to another that I am never tired . . . . But I shan't have a great while to work so hard, for as soon as I come out, I shall give it all up, except for music and dancing.[13]

Superficiality of knowledge was bad enough, but, when combined with the development of an excessive and ill-directed sensibility, the results were disastrous. Sensibility, governed and directed by the passions, the feelings or the heart, was opposed to sound reasoned judgement. While Miss More recognized that sensibility was distinctly feminine and an admirable quality in women, if cultivated to excess, this same sensibility could lead a young lady into all manner of pitfalls.

> Flippancy, impetuosity, resentment, and violence of spirit, grow out of this disposition, which will be rather promoted than corrected by the system of education . . . in which . . . emotions are too early and too much excited, and tastes and feelings are considered as too exclusively making up the whole of the female character; . . . [14]

Miss More went further and boldly asserted that "if we were to enquire into the remote cause of some of the blackest crimes in the annals of mankind, profligacy, murder, and especially suicide, we might trace them back to this original principle, an ungoverned Sensibility."[15]

The chief culprits in the development of an excessive sensibility were romantic poetry, novels, play-going, opera and music. For example, Mr. Stanley, during a conversation on the "unhappy effects of misguided passion,"

> . . . lamented that novels, with a few admirable exceptions, had done infinite mischief by so completely establishing the omnipotence of love, that the young reader was almost systematically taught an unresisting submission to a feeling, because the feeling was commonly represented as irresistable.[16]

These defects of contemporary education manifested themselves most clearly in that all too common characteristic in young ladies of rank, their total lack of a sense of propriety. Extravagance and immodesty of dress, improper topics of conversation and familiarity with men were not only not condemned but openly condoned. Propriety, "the result of general excellence [and] the criterion of true taste, right principle, and genuine feeling, in a woman,"[17] had all but disappeared from fashionable society. Yet without it, a young lady could not be agreeable in polite company As Mr. Stanley observes to his young daughter,

> To a correct mind, no one can be agreeable who is incorrect. Propriety is so indispensable to agreeableness that when a lady allows herself to make any, even the smallest, sacrifice of veracity, religion, modesty, candour, or the decorum of the sex, she may be shining, she may be shewy, she may be amusing, but she cannot, properly speaking, be agreeable.[18]

II—*Education of Women of Rank and Fortune*

Miss More contended that there could be no piecemeal remedies for the ills which beset contemporary education. The education of young ladies of rank and fortune needed to be placed on an entirely new foundation, that of Christian principles and doctrine, and it was on this base that Miss More constructed her theory of female education.

As was suggested above, the starting point of any education for any rank should be a full recognition of the innate corruptness of human nature. The teacher and parents must realize that children were "fallen, depraved and helpless creatures," and that this natural corruption, "if not counteracted, . . . will spread itself through the whole soul, disfigure the character and disorder the life."[19]

Yet, while education was to be based on a recognition of this common element in all human beings, it must make allowances for the uniqueness of the sexes. Education, rather than seeking "to do away with distinctions which increase the mutual benefits and enhance the satisfactions of life," must develop the "proper excellencies" of women and men. For example, while it was true that a woman had a less firm "texture of mind" than a man, and that she lacked his judgement and capacity "for deep and daring scenes of action," she possessed "other requisites, better adapated to answer the end and purpose of her being." Her superiority lay in her "high degree of delicacy and quickness of perception," her intuitive tact, her "naturally soft and flexible heart," and in her "feeling . . . more intimately the want of a strength which is not her own." Moreover, possessing little "integral understanding", she was less inclined to be sceptical and did not "acquire a strong partiality for the manners of Pagan antiquity, and the documents of Pagan philosophy." She was thus in much less danger than a man of having her principles perverted. The weaker sex could "take comfort that in their very exemption from privileges which they are sometimes foolishly disposed to envy, consists not only their security, but their happiness."[20]

Education should not seek to make women the intellectual equals of men but rather to develop those qualities which were peculiarly their own. Women had one unique talent and one special responsibility—influence over men. Indeed, on the prevailing sentiments and habits of women depended the general state of civilized society. That the influence women exerted was the right one was the responsibility of parent and teacher.

On these views of human nature and woman were based the general and specific aims of Hannah More's theory of education. The basic aim of all education was the inculcation of principles of Christianity. Only this could effectively counteract man's corrupt nature and guarantee temporal and eternal happiness. It was not enough merely to lay down rules and regulations for moral behaviour; principles had to be established. And there was no method of establishing sound religious principles except by an early and careful indoctrinaton into Christianity. At the same time, "it is our duty, . . . to take care that those principles be sound and just; that the religion we teach be the religion of the Bible, and not the invention of human error or superstition."[21] In effect, then, this basic aim of education was concerned not only with teaching a set body of subject matter or developing certain faculties of the mind, but with creating values and beliefs; with, as Miss More freely admitted, "prejudicing the child" to a particular way of life.

Connected with and proceeding alongside the inculcation of true Christian principles should be the formation of proper habits. All desirable habits depended on a correctly developed faculty of will.

> The forming of any one good habit seems to be effected rather by avoiding the opposite bad habit, and resisting every temptation to the opposite vice, than by the mere occasional practice of the virtue required. *Humility*, for instance, is less an act than a disposition of mind. It is not so much a single performance of some detached humble deed, as an incessant watchfulness against every propensity to pride. *Sobriety* is . . . a conscientious habit of resisting every incentive to intemperance. —Meekness is best attained and exemplified by guarding against every tendency to anger, impatience, and resentment. —A habit of *attention* and application is formed by early and constant vigilance against a trifling spirit and a wandering mind.[22]

In other words, good habits were positive qualities only in the sense that they sprang from self-control, restraint and resistance to natural desires. Thus, the first habit to be formed in every human being should be patience and cheerfulness "under postponed and restricted gratification"[23] of desires.

Together with the formation of "useful habits", care should be taken to develop the faculty of judgement. It was judgement which enabled its possessor to estimate correctly the relative value of anything, decide whether it was worthy of attention or merely frivolous, and regulate the habits. Thus, a person

> . . . may have been well instructed in history, *belles lettres,* philosophy and languages and yet have received a defective education if the formation of his judgement has been neglected. For it is not important to know everything, as to know the exact value of everything, to appreciate what we learn, to arrange what we know.[24]

These were the three great aims of education, the inculcation of Christian principles, the formation of proper habits and the development of a sound judgement. It was, of course, a "character development" education in the best tradition of John Locke. In *Coelebs,* Charles' mother gives him her own (and Hannah More's) definition of a correct education for young ladies.

> For my own part I call education, not that which smothers a woman with accomplishments, but that which tends to consolidate a firm and regular system of character; that which tends to form a friend, a companion, and a wife. I call education, not that which is made up of the shreds and patches of useless arts, but that which inculcates principles, polishes taste, regulates temper, cultivates reason, subdues the passions, directs the feelings, habituates to reflection, trains to self-denial, and more especially, that which refers all actions, feelings, sentiments, tastes, and passions, to the love and fear of God.[25]

What should comprise the content of such an education? Since the whole of education was avowedly religious in nature, the child could not be exposed too early in life to the source of religious knowledge, the Scriptures. There was no sure way to teach Christian principles except by constant reference to the Bible. "Histories of the Bible, and commentaries on the Bible, for the use of children, though valuable in their way, should never be used as substitutes for the *Bible* itself," and while children should "read the commentary for the improvement of the understanding, they should 'mark, learn, and inwardly digest' the Bible for the comfort and edification of the heart."[26]

Although Miss More continually insisted that the Bible must be the source of true Christian principles and piety, she also believed that the Church of England, "of all the similar institutions which have been known in the Christian World, [was] the most admirably fitted for its purpose."[27] Thus, the Bible was to be supplemented by the Church Catechism, which "was written for children, and contains all the seeds and principles of Christianity for men."[28]

Chief among the secular studies, if any subject in Miss More's scheme of education could be said to be secular, was history. The moral benefits that might be derived from this study were several.

> The study of history may serve to give a clearer insight into the corruption of human nature:
>
> It may help to show the plan of Providence in the direction of events, and in the use of unworthy instruments:
>
> It may assist in the vindication of Providence, in the common failure of virtue, and the frequent success of vice:
>
> It may lead to a distrust of our judgement:
>
> It may contribute to our improvement in self-knowledge.[29]

But although history was a rich source of moral, intellectual and religious instruction and inspiration, the teacher should exercise great caution in his selection of historians. For example, Mr. David Hume, "though the most informing, as well as the most elegant, of all the writers of English history," divorced morality from religion and refused to lead "the mind to look beyond second causes and human agents."[30] He, and others like him, had to be regarded with extreme caution or, better still, avoided altogether.

Geography, like history, was a subject well suited to provide moral and religious instruction. Together with natural history, it diverted the attention "to the goodness of Providence, who commonly adapts the various productions of climates to the various wants of the respective inhabitants."[31]

While Miss More believed that women's minds were inferior to those of men, she was not disposed to "temper the wind to the shorn lamb." Women needed to read difficult works as a counterweight to their natural craving for "little, amusing, sentimental books." Thus, Mr. Stanley is able to assert "that the very tediousness of her historians had a good effect; they were a useful ballast to her levity, a discipline to her mind, of which she has felt the benefit in her subsequent life."[32]

The books which Miss More recommended for the instruction of the daughters of the great were indeed formidable. "After a proper course of preparatory reading," they should be able "to swallow and digest such strong meat as Watt's or Duncan's little book on Logic, some parts of Mr. Locke's *Essays on the Human Understanding,* and Bishop Butler's *Analogy.*"[33] Other recommended authors of instructional books included Bacon and Burke.

Particular care should be taken in selecting books for leisure reading for the greatest errors were liable to occur when amusement became the criterion for judging a book. Generally, biographies were infinitely to be preferred to novels, which were too often the cause of an "ill-directed sensibility" and sometimes guilty of promulgating false principles of moral conduct by making mere worldly morality a substitute for religion.

Don Quixote, the *Odyssey* and *Arabian Tales* were some of the few works of fiction which delighted "the fancy, without conveying any dangerous lesson to the heart." The plays of Shakespeare, although they showed great insights into human nature, needed to be approached with great caution.

> The works of this most unequal of all poets contain so much that is vulgar, so much that is absurd, and so much that is impure; so much indecent levity, false wit, and gross description, that he should only be read in parcels, and with the nicest selection. His more exceptional pieces should not be read at all; and even of the best, much may be omitted.[34]

Similarly, poetry should not be judged solely on its artistic worth, but on the sentiments and observations it contained. The danger of poetry

producing an excess of sensibility was a real one; yet, by carefully selecting the author, it could become a useful medium for conveying sound principles. Mr. Stanley, for example, delights his children with a reading of Cowper's *The Diverting History of John Gilpin* in order to prepare them for his more meaty and rewarding *The Task.*

The study of foreign languages was recommended for those young ladies who showed an aptitude in this field. Lucilla Stanley, for example, is extremely intelligent and her father has taught her Latin, the most useful of foreign languages. For those who were able to master it, it provided the opportunity of learning about the ancient world and helped the students to understand etymology, to be accurate in definition, more exact in her use of language and more graceful in her style of writing. Next to Latin, as languages worthy of study, came French, German and Italian. But for most young ladies, the time needed to master another language was too great and could be more profitably spent on other subjects.

The sciences did not merit a place in a young lady's education for a knowledge of them was rarely found in a lady of "taste and elegance." As Charles observes in *Coelebs,*

> Arts which are of immense value in manufactures, won't make my wife's conversation entertaining to me. Discoveries which may greatly improve dyeing and bleaching, will add little to the delights of our summer evening's walk or winter fireside.[35]

The criterion for judging the worth of any subject must be utility, whether it was instilling principles of religion or religious behaviour, developing the faculty of judgement, disciplining the mind, or providing practical knowledge which could be used in the course of everyday living.

In connection with this last point, Miss More laid great emphasis on the necessity of a thorough training in what she termed "domestic economy." Although a lady of rank might never be required to cook, sew and engage in household work, nevertheless, she should be familiar with all of the skills needed to perform these tasks well. The efficient running of a large household required that she supervise all the activities of her servants, and this was impossible without a first-hand knowledge of their duties. In addition, she needed a sound grasp of arithmetic for it would be her responsibility to look after the accounts of the household.

The contemporary lack of interest in domestic economy as a subject fit for young ladies arose from an inability to weigh correctly the relative value of things; in fact, from a lack of judgement.

> A philosophical lady may 'read Mallebranche, Boyle, and Locke.' She may boast of her intellectual superiority; she may talk of abstract and concrete; of substantial forms and essences; complex ideas and mixed modes; of identity and relation; she may decorate all the logic of one sex with all the rhetoric of the other; yet, if her affairs are *delabres,* if her house is disorderly, her servants irregular, her children neglected, and her table ill-arranged, she will indicate the want of the most valuable faculty of the human mind, a sound judgement.[36]

An examination of the aims and content of Miss More's ideal education for young ladies illustrates the two dominant influences on her educational thought, her acceptance of the faculty psychology so popular in the eighteenth century and her own militant Evangelicalism. In her views on educational method, these two influences were also in evidence. As has been suggested, subject matter might possess an educative value quite apart from its content; it could discipline the mind and strengthen certain desirable faculties at the expense of other less desirable ones. Memorizing passages of Plutarch, for example, not only encouraged an elegant style and provided useful topics of conversation, but trained the memory. In the same way, since there was "no idle way to acquisitions which really deserve the name," the activity of learning had a moral advantage in that it developed diligence and perseverance and discouraged idleness. Indeed, "knowledge which is acquired by unwearied assiduity is lasting in the possession, and sweet to the possessor; both perhaps in proportion to the cost and labour of the acquisition."[37] The implications of such a faculty psychology for educational method are obvious. The habits of perseverance, diligence, restraint and industry were to be formed by the teacher making the child engage in activities which forced him or her to persevere, be diligent, restrain his desires and be industrious.

Such a view of the learning process fitted in perfectly with Miss More's religious beliefs, in which the natural corruption of the child figured prominently. The child was constantly faced with the task of combatting her corrupt nature, and this continuous battle was most likely to be lost when she was idle. The teacher should therefore never allow the child to be "at a loose end," but must develop in her the essential habit of industry.

The teacher and parent must look with suspicion on all gratifications of children's appetites and desires. Particular care should be taken never to use gratifications of appetites and desires "as the *instruments of recompense,* which would look as if we valued them highly, and thought them a fit remuneration for merit."[38] As Mr. Stanley observes, "I would rather show a little indulgence to sensuality *as* sensuality, than make it the reward of goodness . . . "[39]

There is a good deal more to the educational ideas of Hannah More than eighteenth century faculty psychology and a rather gloomy, authoritarian view of education based on the doctrine of natural corruption. Indeed, in some of her ideas on educational method, there is much that was considerably in advance of her time. She had been a teacher, and a very good one; she knew and loved children, and was loved by them in return. Moreover, though she was violently opposed to anything which smacked of the ideas of "the fastidious Jean Jacques," she had read all his works and had been influenced by him more than she realized or cared to admit. Throughout her writings there are almost as many references to innocent children being corrupted by a profligate society as

there are to their naturally corrupt natures. Indeed, in her educational writings, one sees the impact of Rousseau's ideas, modified considerably it is true, on the mainstream of English educational thought in the nineteenth century.

She believed, for example, that authoritarianism and "the harsh doctrine of paternal austerity" were both ill-conceived and harmful to the child. She was, in fact, too good a teacher and knew and loved children too well to lay down rigid rules for discipline.

> A discriminating teacher will appreciate the individual character of each pupil, in order to appropriate her management. We must strengthen the feeble, while we repel the bold. We cannot educate by a receipt; for after studying the best rules, and after digesting them into the best system, much must depend on contingent circumstances; for that which is good may yet be inapplicable.[40]

Equally "enlightened" was her view that children's play was something more than mere amusement or an expression of their "animal natures"; it was a creative activity. In *Coelebs*, for example, we find Mr. Stanley condemning expensive toys which serve only to amuse the child. He and the ubiquitous Charles have visited a couple whose three children have, respectively, pulled apart an expensive doll and made one from rags, destroyed a painted wooden horse and ridden astride a long, rough stick, and broken up a fine gilt coach and nailed together some rough boards into a wheelbarrow. Mr. Stanley observes,

> It is a sad mistake . . . to suppose that youth wants to be so incessantly amused. They want not pleasures to be chalked out for them. Lay a few cheap and coarse materials in their way, and let their own busy invention be suffered to work. They have abundant pleasure in the mere freshness and novelty of life, its unbroken health, its elastic spirits, its versatile temper, and its ever new resources.[41]

If Miss More was prepared to excuse dullness in suitable books on the grounds that it provided "ballast" for the female mind, she was unwilling to forgive the same fault in a teacher. "Do not fancy that a thing is good merely because it is dull." When teaching anything, especially religion, "Call in all creation, animate and inanimate, to your aid and accustom your audience to

> Find tongues in trees, books in running brooks,
> Sermons in stones, and good in everything.[42]

Subject matter should never be allowed to degenerate into dry, disconnected facts, "some slight acquisition of the memory, . . . not grounded in the mind by comment and conversation."[43] It had to be made meaningful, in the sense that each isolated fact was related to other facts and the total shown to be an essential unity. Even a prayer should be systematically analysed, related to other prayers and shown to be part of a unity, a general scheme of prayer.

The role that conversation played in this process of making subject matter meaningful and a unity was an important one. "Conversation must develop what is obscure, raise what is low, correct what is defective, qualify what is exaggerated, and gently and almost insensibly raise

the understanding, form the heart, and fix the taste."[44] Again, the teacher was warned of the unforgivable sin of dullness, of "insipid dogmas and tedious sermonising"; the pupil should "not be led to dread a lecture at every turn, nor a dissertation on every occurrence."[45]

Miss More recognized that even the content of education should, within limits, be geared to the interests and aptitudes of the individual student. Mr. Stanley, for example, observes:

> I am a gardener . . . and accustomed to study the genius of the soil before I plant. Most of my daughters, like the daughters of other men, have some talent, or at least propensity; for parents are too apt to mistake the inclination for genius. The propensity I endeavour to find out, and to cultivate. But if I find the natural bias very strong, and not very safe, I then labour to counteract instead of encouraging the tendency, and try to give it a fresh direction.[46]

She stressed that activity must lie at the heart of the educational process, that nothing could be learned without action on the part of the learner. Children would never become charitable by being lectured on the virtues of benevolence. They had to be taken out among the poor and set to do charitable work. An essential feature of the education of Mr. Stanley's daughters is their practical work among the poor of the parish, visiting the sick, doing household work for them, growing fruit and vegetables for distribution to the poor, and organizing worthwhile activities in the village.

A close study of Miss More's educational works makes it readily apparent that to consider her merely as an Evangelical, a religious enthusiast of the "school of Wilberforce", is to fail to understand and no justice to her ideas and work in education.

III—*Evaluation*

The influence and significance of the educational writings of Miss More are not easy to assess. In her lifetime her works enjoyed a very large circulation. *Thoughts on the Manners of the Great* went through seven editions in a few months, *An Estimate of the Religion of the Fashionable World* was equally popular, the *Strictures* sold over 19,000 copies and *Coelebs* more than 20,000.* But these large circulations and the extravagant praise that her books received from friends and admirers should not blind one to the fact that Hannah More was only one of a number of influential writers who play their part in effecting and recording the transformation of the moral and religious climate of England at the turn of the century. It is true, however, that she was one of the first major critics of Georgian morality, religion and education, whose works seem to have borne fruit.

Much of the historical significance of Hannah More's didactic writings derives from her anticipation of the "Victorian Frame of Mind." A strict

*Interestingly, if incidentally, over 30,000 copies were sold in North America.

observance of the Sabbath, attendance at death-beds for young and old alike, regularity in affairs, a sense of responsibility for the poor, philanthropy, a suspicion of anything "continental"; all were typically "Victorian" and all are to be found in the life and writings of Hannah More.

The area of life in which Miss More most clearly and most significantly anticipated the Victorian mentality is her insistence that actions and conduct, to be consistently moral, must be referred to the principles of a personal religion. Meacham considers that the most important aspects of Evangelical inheritance in Victorian England were the emphases placed first on finding salvation for oneself, and second on a personal knowledge of God's will as revealed through conscience.[47] There may have been a good deal of disagreement and controversy in Victorian England but no people were ever more certain that they could arrive at the truth. Political, social and economic matters were all to be resolved, not only on the basis of facts or expediency, but in accord with the Word of God. Evolution, the treatment of African natives, the Corn Laws, factory legislation, education, foreign policy, all were debated on religious grounds. It was this ability to justify private and public actions as being in accordance with the will of God that enabled the Victorians to gain what Young calls "a sense of being an Elect people."[48] In her writings, Hannah More had certainly anticipated this "creed" and may well have contributed to its widespread acceptance in the nineteenth century.

In her views of what constituted a correct education for ladies of rank, there is a great deal that anticipated later developments. She had stressed that the proper place for a wife (and her husband) was in the home and that the principal roles of a woman were those of wife and mother. By the middle of the century, at the centre of Victorian life was the family, and domesticity was the great virtue.

Hannah More had pointed out to women that their chief contribution to the material, moral and spiritual welfare of their country lay in influencing their husbands. In the 1850's, books such as Sarah Ellis' *Daughters of England, Wives of England* and *Women of England* were "standard manuals", reiterating the same argument.

In all of her books, Hannah More had urged that women develop a greater sense of propriety. For her, immodesty of dress, language and behaviour were gross faults; for the Victorians they were to become unforgivable sins. Lucilla Stanley, the heroine of *Coelebs,* would have been more at home in the polite society of the 1850's than in that of the first decade of the nineteenth century.

Her views on what constituted and what did not constitute suitable reading matter for young ladies were to become generally accepted in Victorian England. Charlotte Brontë and George Elliott, for example, both shared Hannah More's distrust of the works of Shakespeare. Her warnings of the dangers involved in reading romantic novels, especially

those from France, were to be echoed throughout the nineteenth century by those who felt that such literature encouraged sensuality and licentiousness.

In all those areas in which Miss More anticipated the Victorian mentality, her ideas derived almost entirely from her Evangelicalism, and may be considered as a small but significant part of the Evangelical inheritance. But while it is certainly true that Hannah More's criticisms of contemporary education and her educational recommendations were inspired and influenced primarily by her Evangelical views, this Evangelicalism was leavened by a good measure of sound common sense derived from her experience as a teacher, and discernible amounts of eighteenth century Enlightenment thought and Romanticism. It can, of course, be argued that this "leavening" resulted in a good deal of ambivalence in her views of the nature of the child and the nature and function of discipline. It was hardly logical, for example, for someone who professed so strong a belief in the innate depravity of children to insist that they be left alone to their own "busy invention," or that the teacher search out "natural propensities" and encourage them. Perhaps her love and respect for children and the state of childhood outweighed the logical consequences for educational method of a belief in the natural corruption of man. Certainly, it is significant that of the same Hannah More who asserted, "Children love fiction. It is often a misleading taste,"[49] a former pupil could write, "Good woman as she was, she taught me to believe in Tom Thumb nearly as implicitly as Joseph and his brethren."[50]

IV—*Conclusion*

There is a constant and, unfortunately, often irresistible temptation for educationists to look for some modern relevance in the ideas of the writers of a previous age. This tendency to treat the history of the education solely as a bottomless well of possible answers to our particular educational problems is all too prevalent. At best, it leads to a study of the works of writers who happen to have said what we today happen to find relevant or emotionally satisfying. At worst, it can result in a gross misinterpretation (and often deliberate distortion) of what the original thinker intended. It is essential to remember that the works of any educational writer are a unique response to the peculiar conditions of a particular place in a particular time. To reinterpret these ideas in terms of our attitudes and needs is not only to misinterpret history but to fail to do justice to the original thinker.

Thus, the ideas of Hannah More are significant, not because they have anything to tell us about how to educate young ladies today, but rather because they were extremely relevant some 160 years ago. The popularity of her works during her lifetime and the rapid decline of her reputation in the nineteenth century demonstrate just how peculiarly early nine-

teenth century were her ideas. And this is precisely why her works are worth more than a cursory examination.

Yet, despite the fact that she could not have heard of evolution, behaviourism, or Gestalt psychology, one suspects that many of her ideas might find some small echoes in the hearts and minds of not a few educators. On the other hand, her emphasis on faculty psychology and natural corruption might cause us to hope that these echoes would be few and hardly audible; one fears, however, the opposite. Perhaps the greatest contribution that history of education has to offer is in making us aware of the sources of our current patterns of thought and beliefs; of bringing to consciousness the often deeply hidden legacy of the past. Perhaps it is sobering to realise that many of the most outdated ideas of Hannah More, which in her own time were fresh and relevant contributions to educational thought, still find a ready and unthinking acceptance in the middle of the twentieth century.

However, as an historian interested in research among original documents, the author undertook this study because of the intrinsic interest the subject held for him *as an historian*. Of possible implications for contemporary society and contemporary education he does not wish to speak.

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This is the fifth of a series of six related articles concerning problems of predicting freshman success at the University of Alberta, Edmonton. (See this Journal, XI : 1, Pp. 3-16; XI : 2, Pp. 71-82 and 125-133; XI : 4, Pp. 261-271.) The sixth and final article will appear in the next issue and will present in summary form the most significant findings of the study.

D. B. BLACK and D. W. KNOWLES

University of Alberta

Effects of Normalization on Prediction of University Success

It is the accepted practice in many universities, particularly in the United States, to have each student submit scores on an academic aptitude test as part of the pre-requisites for admission. An example of this procedure is that of the member institutions of the College Entrance Examination Board who use the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT). Many institutions in Canada administer similar tests after admission has been granted.[1] This procedure is followed by the University of Alberta, Edmonton. The use of such instruments is well documented as will be noted in the first article of this series, and several of the better known college academic aptitude tests have already been examined under local conditions.[2] Generally, it has been found that such scores have added little to improve the prediction over that of using Departmental scores alone.

The primary purpose of the research reported in this paper, was first, to examine the effects of adding academic aptitude test scores to Principal's Rating Average as a means of improving freshman prediction before the student leaves high school and, second, to examine the effects of normalizing data to improve predictions. As in the previous three papers, these objectives were examined with respect to the students' sex, faculty entered, and the size of the graduating high school as defined in the earlier papers. The data were examined in regard to two Grade XII marking systems, the Departmental score average and the Principals' Rating score average. The test of academic aptitude used was the American Council on Education's Psychological Examination for College Freshmen (ACE) which gives two sub-scores; a verbal or linguistic score (L) and a mathematical or quantitative score (Q). This test was administered to the 1962 freshmen during registration week.

When the ACE scores were obtained from the University Counselling Services office, it was found that scores were not available for all of the students in the sample used in the earlier studies in this series. Students

not having ACE scores were excluded. However, these cases were replaced by other students who had been excluded from the original sample because they did not have at least one Departmental and Principal's Rating score in each of Mathematics, Science, and Foreign Language, as well as in English 30 and Social Studies 30. Generally, these new cases lacked scores in the Mathematics or Foreign Language areas, but these were compensated for by two scores in one of the other areas to make the six Grade XII subjects required for University admission. Of these students, those who had taken the ACE were included in the new sample. Compared with the original sample of 1,017 cases, this new sample consisted of 1,010 cases.

The data from the new sample were processed at the University Computing Centre using a modified edition of the IBM 1620 computer programme used in the earlier analyses to calculate the means, standard deviations, xero-order and multiple correlation coefficients, beta weights, and constants for the regression equations.

It was necessary to compare first the original and new sample statistics to establish comparability. The means and standard deviations for the two samples for the various sub-classifications were found not to differ more than two-tenths of a score for either the Principal's Rating Average or the Departmental Average. Because of their closeness, these statistics are not reported. Table I reports the ACE Q and L scores for the new sample by sex, faculty and size of graduating high school.

These scores are reported in raw scores because all students were administered the same form of the ACE. The correlations between Departmental and Principal's Rating Averages for both samples by sex, school size and faculty group, are reported in Table II. As in the case of the Grade XII average means and standard deviations, the correlations for both samples with the criterion are, with the sole exception of Departmental Average for females from small schools in the Faculty of Science ($N = 22/21$), all within .02 of one another. It is readily apparent without the benefit of formal statistical tests that no significant differences exist between the two samples. This finding would be expected because of the large number of cases common to both samples.

Table I, which reports the two ACE score means, shows that female Q scores are in every instance numerically lower than the same score for males. ACE L scores for males are numerically lower, in all instances, than those reported for females. This finding is in accord with known sex differences in performance on this test. For the Departmental and Principal's Rating Average scores the case for numerical differences favouring large over small high schools, while generally true, is not so clear as in other variables reported in the earlier papers. For students from small high schools, male L scores in Education and Q scores in Arts, are greater or equal, respectively, to like performances of males in

TABLE I

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF ACE Q AND L RAW SCORES OF STUDENTS IN FOUR FACULTIES BY SEX AND SIZE OF GRADUATING HIGH SCHOOL (N=1,010)

Faculty/Variable			Small High School			Large High School			Total		
			Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Arts		N	58	54	112	77	57	134	135	111	246
	ACE Q:	$\bar{x}$	49.34	45.56	47.52	49.32	47.56	48.57	49.33	46.59	48.09
		s	8.36	8.14	8.43	9.05	8.76	8.94	8.73	8.49	8.71
	ACE L:	$\bar{x}$	57.45	59.30	58.34	59.19	58.28	58.81	58.44	58.77	58.59
		s	11.29	12.52	11.88	13.71	14.15	13.86	12.71	13.33	12.97
Education		N	87	237	324	30	64	94	117	301	418
	ACE Q:	$\bar{x}$	47.48	44.34	45.18	48.97	45.27	46.45	47.86	44.53	45.47
		s	8.42	7.49	7.87	8.21	8.25	8.37	8.36	7.66	7.99
	ACE L:	$\bar{x}$	53.64	53.92	53.84	52.90	55.78	54.86	53.45	54.31	54.07
		s	11.85	12.04	11.97	9.97	12.47	11.75	11.36	12.13	11.91
Engineering		N	57	1	58	42	—	42	99	1	100
	ACE Q:	$\bar{x}$			48.79			50.26			49.41
		s			7.09			6.30			6.78
	ACE L:	$\bar{x}$			53.22			53.95			53.53
		s			11.11			11.31			11.14
Science		N	101	21	122	101	23	124	202	44	246
	ACE Q:	$\bar{x}$	50.50	48.19	50.10	52.39	52.17	52.35	51.44	50.27	51.23
		s	9.15	7.11	8.85	8.81	7.36	8.53	9.01	7.44	8.75
	ACE L:	$\bar{x}$	55.88	57.62	56.18	58.55	64.61	59.68	57.22	61.27	57.94
		s	13.98	11.46	13.55	12.34	12.22	12.49	13.22	12.22	13.12
Total		N	303	313	616	250	144	394	553	457	1,010
	ACE Q:	$\bar{x}$	49.09	44.82	46.92	50.68	47.28	49.43	49.81	45.60	47.90
		s	8.49	7.62	8.33	8.53	8.61	8.70	8.53	8.02	8.56
	ACE L:	$\bar{x}$	54.99	55.14	55.06	57.30	58.18	57.62	56.03	56.10	56.06
		s	12.41	12.24	12.31	12.54	13.38	12.84	12.51	12.67	12.58

TABLE II

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN UNIVERSITY FRESHMAN AVERAGE AND GRADE XII AVERAGES FOR ORIGINAL AND NEW SAMPLE BY SEX, FACULTY AND SIZE OF GRADUATING HIGH SCHOOL

Faculty/Predictor	Sample	Small High School			Large High School			Total		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Arts	N	61/58*	59/54	120/112	76/77	60/57	136/134	137/135	119/111	256/246
Dept. Av.	Original	.398	.652	.529	.649	.824	.755	.534	.758	.660
	New	.382	.614	.490	.652	.820	.753	.531	.748	.650
Prin. Rat. Av.	Original	.405	.619	.514	.509	.758	.658	.449	.694	.558
	New	.401	.583	.483	.511	.761	.659	.450	.690	.581
Education	N	80/87	228/237	308/324	26/30	64/64	90/94	106/117	292/301	398/246
Dept. Av.	Original	.357	.567	.522	.565	.641	.632	.393	.590	.553
	New	.365	.565	.519	.426	.611	.583	.376	.579	.537
Prin. Rat. Av.	Original	.479	.515	.516	.438	.612	.578	.435	.536	.522
	New	.465	.514	.510	.420	.607	.540	.403	.535	.512
Engineering	N	59/57	1/1	60/58	42/42		42/42	101/99	1/1	102/100
Dept. Av.	Original			.609			.730			.661
	New			.601			.730			.659
Prin. Rat. Av.	Original			.532			.581			.548
	New			.528			.581			.545
Science	N	107/101	22/21	129/122	109/101	23/23	132/124	216/202	45/44	261/246
Dept. Av.	Original	.623	.616	.621	.795	.908	.817	.727	.792	.742
	New	.601	.670	.603	.804	.908	.825	.724	.805	.742
Prin. Rat. Av.	Original	.652	.633	.650	.785	.928	.813	.728	.800	.746
	New	.645	.659	.644	.788	.928	.816	.728	.830	.747
TOTAL	N	307/303	310/313	617/616	253/250	147/144	400/394	560/553	457/457	1017/1010
Dept. Av.	Original	.537	.580	.545	.728	.791	.748	.640	.683	.649
	New	.521	.568	.530	.730	.782	.746	.634	.674	.642
Prin. Rat. Av.	Original	.549	.537	.537	.658	.759	.694	.559	.632	.609
	New	.540	.523	.525	.654	.761	.691	.594	.628	.603

*N = Original Sample/New Sample

large high schools. Significant differences were found among Science, Arts, Engineering (males only) and Educaton means in that order on both sub-scores. All differences were statistically significant at the 1% level.

To examine the effect of adding the two ACE scores to each of the two grade XII averages in turn, the multiple correlations between them and the criterion, University Freshman Average, were calculated for the new sample. These statistics are reported in Table III, along with the zero-order correlation coefficients reported in Table II. With the sole exception of males from small high schools enrolled in Arts, when using Departmental Average, the addition of ACE scores adds not more than .05 to the size of the validity coefficients. When the larger sub-samples in the marginal totals are considered low, only in Education and Engineering, and here primarily for Principal's Rating Average, are gains of the magnitude of .05 in the validity coefficients shown. In no instance was any of the differences noted above statistically significant.

It can be concluded that while the addition of the two ACE scores to either the Departmental or Principal's Rating Average did improve the prediction of University Freshman success, the numerical gains in the validity coefficients were so small that even in the event that they had been statistically significant, the improvement in predictive efficiency in most instances would not warrant their inclusion in an operational setting unless such scores were normally available as part of the student's record. This finding is compatible with previous findings for Alberta data.[3]

More recently, there has been a proposal for more admission criteria in normalized form. It can be seen that with a minimum Departmental average of 60 required of each student before admission is granted, skewed distributions are inevitable. Further, the Departmental subject prerequisites of each faculty introduce a selective factor in the very students that are admitted to each faculty. It has already been recognized that different schools function on different rating scales. In Alberta, with the common Departmental examinations, internal school academic biases are not a vital issue in assessment. However, in terms of the distributions of Departmental averages submitted for admission, there can be no denial of skewedness. Bloom and Peters in their studies effectively made the case for normalizing predictive data.[4] They report increases in validity coefficients from .51 to .77 when predictive data was normalized.

To test the effect of normalizing data as a means of increasing validity coefficients, the two Grade XII averages, the ACE scores and the freshman averages were converted to normalized T scores by faculty for the new sample without regard for sex or size of graduating high school. The validity coefficients using these converted scores were calculated for the usual categories of sex, faculty, and size of graduating high school used throughout this study. These statistics are reported in Table IV.

TABLE III

VALIDITY COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN UNIVERSITY FRESHMAN AVERAGE AND GRADE XII AVERAGES ALONG AND IN COMBINATION WITH ACE L AND Q SCORES FOR FOUR FACULTIES BY SEX AND SIZE OF GRADUATING HIGH SCHOOL (N=1,010)

Faculty/Predictor Variables		Small High School			Large High School			Total		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Arts:	N	58	54	112	77	57	134	135	111	246
Dept. Av.	r	.384	.614	.490	.652	.820	.753	.531	.748	.650
Dept. Av. and ACE	R	.491	.620	.538	.655	.820	.755	.546	.749	.656
Prin. Rat. Av.	r	.401	.583	.483	.511	.761	.659	.450	.690	.581
Prin. Rat. Av. and ACE	R	.449	.585	.504	.518	.765	.659	.452	.690	.583
Education:	N	87	237	324	30	64	94	117	301	418
Dept. Av.	r	.365	.565	.519	.426	.607	.583	.376	.579	.537
Dept. Av. and ACE	R	.393	.589	.547	.446	.636	.606	.394	.599	.558
Prin. Rat. Av.	r	.465	.514	.510	.420	.607	.540	.403	.535	.512
Prin. Rat. Av. and ACE	R	.480	.568	.552	.426	.638	.571	.416	.580	.548
Engineering:	N	57	1	58	42	—	42	99	1	100
Dept. Av.	r			.601			.730			.659
Dept. Av. and ACE	R			.625			.776			.691
Prin. Rat. Av.	r			.528			.581			.545
Prin. Rat. Av. and ACE	R			.569			.655			.602
Science:	N	101	21	122	101	23	124	202	44	246
Dept. Av.	r	.601	.670	.603	.804	.908	.816	.724	.805	.742
Dept. Av. and ACE	R	.620	.682	.613	.807	.908	.816	.733	.807	.746
Prin. Rat. Av.	r	.645	.659	.644	.788	.928	.816	.728	.830	.746
Prin. Rat. Av. and ACE	R	.647	.659	.645	.788	.928	.816	.729	.831	.747
TOTAL:	N	303	313	616	250	144	394	553	457	1,010
Dept. Av.	r	.531	.522	.530	.730	.782	.746	.634	.674	.642
Dept. Av. and ACE	R	.546	.522	.547	.732	.786	.746	.640	.679	.647
Prin. Rat. Av.	r	.540	.523	.525	.654	.761	.691	.594	.628	.603
Prin. Rat. Av. and ACE	R	.542	.525	.538	.656	.768	.692	.594	.644	.606

TABLE IV

VALIDITY COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN UNIVERSITY FRESHMAN AVERAGE AND GRADE XII AVERAGE ALONE AND IN COMBINATION WITH ACE L AND Q SCORES FOR FOUR FACULTIES BY SEX AND SIZE OF GRADUATING HIGH SCHOOL FOR NORMALIZED DATA (N=1,010)

Faculty/Predictor Variables		Small High School			Large High School			Total		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Arts:										
Dept. Av.	r	.401	.569	.471	.673	.814	.738	.555	.725	.631
Dept. Av. and ACE	R	.480	.575	.506	.674	.815	.739	.566	.726	.635
Prin. Rat. Av.	r	.483	.553	.511	.521	.723	.616	.490	.658	.565
Prin. Rat. Av. and ACE	R	.504	.553	.519	.527	.732	.621	.492	.659	.567
Education:										
Dept. Av.	r	.359	.546	.492	.441	.611	.563	.375	.564	.511
Dept. Av. and ACE	R	.385	.582	.521	.484	.632	.587	.397	.593	.535
Prin. Rat. Av.	r	.472	.518	.504	.426	.606	.503	.394	.537	.497
Prin. Rat. Av. and ACE	R	.489	.575	.546	.446	.639	.538	.414	.586	.535
Engineering:										
Dept. Av.	r			.625			.746			.679
Dept. Av. and ACE	R			.625			.769			.702
Prin. Rat. Av.	r			.574			.632			.591
Prin. Rat. Av. and ACE	R			.609			.681			.634
Science:										
Dept. Av.	r	.576	.696	.590	.769	.876	.792	.695	.801	.717
Dept. Av. and ACE	R	.591	.710	.597	.773	.883	.794	.700	.814	.718
Prin. Rat. Av.	r	.625	.638	.623	.768	.882	.794	.709	.805	.728
Prin. Rat. Av. and ACE	R	.630	.647	.625	.770	.882	.795	.710	.807	.729
Total										
Dept. Av.	r	.486	.551	.518	.701	.730	.713	.634	.674	.642
Dept. Av. and ACE	R	.504	570	.532	.703	.736	.713	.640	.679	.647
Prin. Rat. Av.	r	.543	.522	.533	.615	.698	.649	.594	.628	.603
Prin. Rat. Av. and ACE	R	.547	.552	.544	.617	.711	.650	.594	.644	.606

TABLE V

ZERO ORDER CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN GRADE XII AVERAGES AND UNIVERSITY FRESHMAN AVERAGE FOR REGULAR AND NORMALIZED SCORES FOR FOUR FACULTIES BY SEX AND SIZE OF GRADUATING HIGH SCHOOL

Faculty/Averages/Score			Small High School			Large High School			Total		
			Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Arts		N	58	54	112	77	57	134	135	111	246
Dept. Av.	regular		.384	.614	.490	.652	.820	.753	.531	.748	.650
	normalized		.401	.569	.471	.673	.814	.738	.555	.725	.631
Prin. Rat. Av.	regular		.401	.583	.483	.511	.761	.659	.450	.690	.581
	normalized		.483	.553	.511	.521	.723	.616	.490	.658	.565
Education		N	87	237	324	30	64	94	117	301	418
Dept. Av.	regular		.365	.565	.519	.426	.607	.583	.376	.579	.537
	normalized		.359	.546	.492	.441	.611	.563	.375	.564	.511
Prin. Rat. Av.	regular		.465	.514	.510	.420	.607	.540	.403	.535	.512
	normalized		.472	.518	.504	.426	.606	.503	.394	.537	.497
Engineering		N	57	1	58	42	—	42	99	1	100
Dept. Av.	regular				.601			.730			.659
	normalized				.625			.746			.679
Prin. Rat. Av.	regular				.528			.581			.545
	normalized				.574			.632			.591
Science		N	101	21	122	101	23	124	202	44	246
Dept. Av.	regular		.601	.670	.603	.804	.908	.816	.724	.805	.742
	normalized		.576	.696	.590	.769	.876	.792	.695	.801	.717
Prin. Rat. Av.	regular		.645	.659	.644	.788	.928	.816	.728	.830	.746
	normalized		.625	.638	.623	.768	.882	.794	.709	.805	.728
Total			303	313	616	250	144	394	553	457	1,010
Dept. Av.	regular		.531	.522	.530	.730	.782	.746	.634	.674	.642
	normalized		.486	.551	.518	.701	.730	.713	.634	.674	.642
Prin. Rat. Av.	regular		.540	.523	.525	.654	.761	.691	.594	.628	.603
	normalized		.543	.522	.533	.615	.698	.650	.594	.644	.606

Examination of Table IV reveals no change from the patterns reported earlier for the validity coefficients using the two Grade XII averages alone and in combination with the two ACE scores. The purpose in normalizing the data, however, is aimed at increasing the validity coefficients. Table V combines the data froh Tables II and IV for both regular and normalized data validity coefficients between the two Grade XII averages and the University Freshman Average.

Because the data were normalized by faculty, the effect of normalizing should be found in the Faculty totals data in the extreme right hand set of columns of Table V. The findings for the Faculty totals show extremely modest differences between regular and normalized data based coefficients, none of which is statistically significant. Moreover, in some instances, the validity coefficients from the normalized data were found to be numerically lower than those previously obtained. This pattern persists throughout the whole of Table V. The findings agree with Linquist who used normalized data to predict university success of 9,364 subjects and found he was able only to raise the validity coefficients from .681 to .691. Concluding, he writes, as can be said of the present study:[5]

> Needless to say, these results were most disappointing particularly in consideration of the very considerable effort and expense that the study involved, as well as in view of the expectations raised by previous studies . . . . In general, the results of this study . . . . seem to lead inescapably to the conclusion that the internal scaling of high school grades is not a promising way of improving the prediction of college grades.

In summary, this study suggests that while the addition of academic test scores does improve predictive efficiency, the small magnitude of improvement over the use of Grade XII averages alone leaves the operational practicality of including such scores open to question. Second, little justification was found, again on the basis of practical grounds, to base the prediction of freshman success at the University of Alberta on normalized predictor and criterion variables rather than using the regular data as submitted to the Department of Education and the University.

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A brief report on a research study designed to establish the effectiveness of lectures designed to change the attitudes of dogmatic and non-dogmatic University students.

E. R. OETTING

Colorado State University

Dogmatism In College Students

Teachers and counsellors frequently assume that if the students are listening and involved, they will assimilate ideas and change their attitudes accordingly. This study suggests that students will change their attitudes toward a concept as a result of a lecture but the change depends on their previous attitude structure as well as the material presented.

Rokeach suggests that the dogmatic person is not likely to change his attitudes or beliefs.[1] He views the non-dogmatic individual as open to experience and to change. While training counsellors in client centred techniques, Kemp found that the dogmatic students tended to change their responses in the appropriate direction on test items about counselling, but retained rather authoritarian behaviour in actual interviews.[2] Sperber had students mark personality items as they felt an individual whose case history was being presented would have marked them.[3] Rigid and authoritarian students, on being presented with further case materials, changed their impression and their responses on further personality items. They did not, however, change them in a more accurate direction. The dogmatism and authoritarianism scales are highly correlated. The evidence indicates that the dogmatic student is likely to change his verbal responses in a situation where it is clear that he is expected to do so. He may be resistant to change in his *actual* behaviour. There is an implication that the dogmatic student does not really change his opinion or attitudes on an organized basis, but simply changes them at random or in the direction expected by authority when that direction is clear.

Although it is tempting to view the dogmatic person as unyielding, random, and ineffective in his responses, it seems more reasonable to assume that when the dogmatic person changes, the changes are consistent with underlying values and attitudes. The person who scores low on a dogmatism scale—who is theoretically open to experience—is also likely to change in relation to his underlying values and attitudes. Where the value structure differs, dogmatic and non-dogmatic students will change their opinions in different ways, but in both cases the change should be a reasonable one from the individual's point of view. If the counsellor or teacher tends to be like the non-dogmatic student in values and beliefs,

he is likely to view the dogmatic student as unchanging or changing inappropriately, when the student has actually, from his own point of view, changed in appropriate ways.

Method

In an advanced educational psychology course at the University of Alberta, Calgary, two groups of students, scoring at opposite extremes on a dogmatism scale, changed their opinions as a result of a lecture. The class was given a semantic differential consisting of twenty-four bi-polar pairs of adjectives describing personal characteristics. At the beginning of the class, three concepts were rated on all adjective pairs on a 7-point scale. The concepts were "Self", "Ideal Self", and "A person without any inhibitions", presented in that order. Questions about the meaning of the term "inhibitions" were reflected back to the class by the statement, "Simply check the characteristics that you feel a person entirely without inhibitions would have." The class was then given a lecture by the author (not the regular instructor), on the Rogerian viewpoint that the inner core of personality is not destructive, but is essentially self-preserving and social. The lecture was presented dramatically and with conviction, using quotations from case materials and presenting a theoretical framework indicating that the usual views of inhibitions was inadequate and that the human organism is, at its most basic level, a rational, socialized being. The class then repeated the semantic differential for the concept "A person without any inhibitions". Rokeach's 40-item dogmatism scale was administered during the next class period. From the forty-five students who completed all the materials, those with the highest seven scores were compared with those whose scores made up the lowest seven.

Results

Although the differences were too small to be statistically significant, the dogmatic individuals differed by at least a full scale number toward seeing the ideal self as more forceful, bold, hard-hearted and grateful than the non-dogmatic students. This finding would not be considered important except that it suggests a greater value placed on these characteristics and relates to the significant differences found between the groups in the type of change made after the lecture. Both the dogmatic and the non-dogmatic students changed their opinions, but they changed in completely different ways.

The probability of six of the seven students in either group making a change in the same direction with no student changing in the opposite direction is .032. On the basis of this minimum criterion the dogmatic group changed on four descriptive characteristics and the non-dogmatic group changed on five, after listening to the lecture.

The dogmatic group characterized "A person without any inhibitions" after the lecture as being more efficient, co-operative, realistic and

thoughtful than they had previously. The non-dogmatic group viewed this person as more likely to be friendly, meek, soft-hearted, stable and thoughtful. It appears likely that the major change in the concept of both groups after hearing the lecture, was to view the person without inhibitions as being a more effective person than they had previously maintained. The dogmatic group characterized this more effective person as efficient, realistic and co-operative, suggesting an increase in intellectualization. On the other hand, the non-dogmatic person felt that effective differences would lie in areas of personal stability and in personal social characteristics.

Both the dogmatic and the non-dogmatic students in this study changed their concepts when exposed to a lecture. The data suggest that in neither case was the change random, but instead that it was a function of the attitude structure already present in the individual student. In counselling and in teaching, where we are seeking to effect attitude change, it is clear that we must consider not only the information that we present to the students, but also the organization of his beliefs and values. What we may perceive as resistance to change may simply be a function of the questions we ask and the changes that we expect. The student may have altered his attitude, but in ways that are not exactly those we expected.

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Throughout Canada and the United States teachers have had to struggle for occupational security. In this article the authors present a condensed version of their research into the development of teacher tenure legislation in Alberta since the formation of the Province.

C. K. BROWN and F. ENNS
University of Alberta

The Development of Teacher Tenure Legislation In Alberta

Tenure legislation aims at providing greater employment security for competent teachers. It is presumed that increased security will produce a more stable and more satisfied teaching staff, and thus improve the school system. In Canada, Alberta is among the provinces which provide extensive teacher tenure legislation.

The school law of Alberta specifies the conditions under which teachers are employed and places restrictions on the methods by which a school board may terminate a teacher's employment. When a teacher is engaged, no written contract is necessary, but an offer by a school board becomes a legal contract if it is accepted by the teacher within eight days. The terms of the contract are those specified in *The School Act*[1] and the salary agreement which is in effect at the time. Every board is required to adopt a salary schedule, the terms of which are subject to collective bargaining and which may extend beyond salary matters.

A contract between a teacher and a school board may be ended by mutual consent; it may also be terminated summarily and conclusively by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council. Two types of dismissal of teachers are recognized: summary dismissal and termination of contract; in both cases there is provision for appeal from the school board's decision. The board may dismiss any teacher summarily for gross misconduct or neglect of duty. The teacher may appeal such dismissal to the Minister who, after investigation, may confirm or overrule the action of the board. In the latter case, the teacher is reinstated.

A contract of employment may also be terminated by either party on thirty days' notice. However, the Minister's approval is required if the termination is to be effective before the end of the school year. A Board of Reference is provided to consider an appeal by either school board or teacher from termination of contract; it may not, however, hear appeals where the teacher's contract was in effect less than twelve months, or where termination was given with the Minister's approval. When an appeal is before the Board of Reference, the execution of termination is

delayed until the case has been decided. In considering the case, the Board is required to disallow termination by a school board if it satisfied that the trustees did not act for one of the following reasons: (1) misconduct or inefficiency of the teacher; (2) anything in the teacher's mode of life, personality or character which would make his retention detrimental to the proper and efficient conduct of the school; (3) the financial necessities or circumstances of the district; and (4) the general welfare of the district and the betterment of its educational facilities. The decision of the Board of Reference is binding on both parties to the dispute; thus the Board may require a school board to retain a teacher if it feels that the termination of his contract was an unreasonable action.

This legislation, so protective of teacher tenure, developed over a period of more than twenty years after a determined and persistent campaign by the teachers of Alberta. The study on which this paper is based traces the development of these teacher tenure provisions in Alberta from the inception of the Province.[2]

I.—*Early Conditions*

On the formation of the Province of Alberta in 1905, the *School Ordinance* of the Northwest Territories became the school law of Alberta.[3] This ordinance provided the teacher with little protection from unjust dismissal. For ordinary termination of contract, the only stipulation was that thirty days' notice be given by the party desiring to terminate. Thus a school board could dismiss a teacher on thirty days' notice without stating any reasons. Teachers, particularly in rural districts, were often subject to dismissal for reasons unrelated to their function as teachers, and there was a strong feeling among them that such conditions were completely unfair. The only protection which the *School Ordinance* afforded teachers was the right of appeal to the Minister of Education. This was not, however, interpreted by the government as applying to ordinary termination of contract, but to dismissal for neglect of duty or gross misconduct, as provided for in the *Ordinance.*

One section of the *School Ordinance* could have been used to produce better tenure conditions.[4] This section gave the Minister power to make an investigation into a dispute arising from the decision of any school board and, upon receipt of a report, to make any settlement that seemed proper to him. No evidence is available that this provision was ever invoked to protect a teacher's position.

II.—*The Contract Dispute*

When the Alberta Teachers' Alliance (A.T.A.) was formed in 1917, one of its primary objectives was the improvement of the tenure situation. Since the Minister had the power to prescribe the form of teachers' contracts, the A.T.A. first concentrated on an improved form of contract. They devised a *Model Form of Agreement* which provided that a teacher's

contract should remain in force from year to year unless terminated by either party—teachers' contracts were normally for annual or semi-annual terms. For termination of contract the *Model Form* required that thirty days' notice be given; that termination be for inefficiency and misconduct only and that the teachers be given a hearing at which he could be represented by a solicitor, before the termination could take effect. In addition, the *Model Form* provided for appeal to the Minister if the teacher was dissatisfied with the results of the hearing.

The Alliance tried to obtain the approval of the Minister of Education, G. P. Smith, for the *Model Form,* but delays in obtaining a meeting with him caused the Alliance to place the *Model Form* in the hands of its members, and it was adopted in some districts. Subsequently the Minister refused to accept it, and drew up a new form which was agreed to by the Alliance, even though it did not permit representation of the teacher by the A.T.A. or require termination to be for cause.

Later, in 1920, the Minister released a new form of contract which differed from the one agreed to, chiefly in providing that the hearing of the teacher was to be after notice of termination had been given, rather than before. The A.T.A. was unwilling to concede the point; indeed its membership appears to have felt that too much had been conceded already. The new contract form was criticised for not allowing the teacher to be represented by his own organization; the Minister was criticised for not keeping his agreement to consult with the A.T.A. before releasing the new contract form. The Alliance drafted a substitute clause for the official form which altered it to provide the representation and hearing they wanted. Since the *School Ordinance* permitted alteration of the official form of contract by mutual agreement between the teacher and the board,[5] the A.T.A. instructed all teachers to obtain the substitution in their contracts if possible.

The criticisms which were voiced at teachers' meetings in Calgary and Edmonton received full coverage in the press. In 1921, the Minister reacted to these criticisms by attacking the A.T.A., saying that the teachers were being misled by a handful of radical people.[6] A series of exchanges in the press followed, which only increased the bitterness on both sides. It became apparent, however, that the teachers were whole-heartedly behind their leader's demand for better tenure regulations.

The Alberta School Trustees'Association (A.S.T.A.) entered the dispute during 1921. This organization was older than the A.T.A., having been formed when the province was established. It had not functioned during the war years, but had been revived in a small way late in 1919. The Minister called a convention of the A.S.T.A. early in 1921, taking particular care to obtain wide representation of the trustees of the province. At the convention the Minister spoke on several occasions concerning the dispute, and his strong opposition to the demands of the

A.T.A. was vigorously supported by the delegates. However, towards the end of the convention, the Minister unexpectedly proposed a Board of Conciliation to deal with disputes between teachers and school boards, and the proposal was accepted by the trustees.[7]

At the 1921 session of the Alberta Legislature, the Minister of Education obtained an amendment to the *School Ordinance* which provided for the appointment of a Board of Conciliation, but gave it power to investigate and report only, and limited its jurisdiction to disputes over the proper carrying out of existing contracts.[8] Since protection against breach of contract could be obtained through the courts, the teachers regarded this legislation as useless. Another amendment made all changes in the approved form of contract subject to the approval of the Minister, and so restricted the use of the A.T.A. substitute clause.

It seems clear that the Minister of Education of that time did not recognize the Alberta Teachers' Alliance as representative of the teachers, and was unwilling to allow an agent of the Alliance to deal with school boards on a teacher's behalf. The Alliance had consistently demanded such representation, and had achieved some success in settling disputes where its agent had been admitted to a hearing. Boards which refused to deal with the A.T.A. were listed in *The A.T.A. Magazine.* Although the effect of such "black-listing" is difficult to assess, the distaste expressed by the trustees for the practice indicates that it probably was an effective deterrent to the hasty dismissal of a teacher.

III.—*The Period of Negotiation*

The election of 1921 produced sweeping changes in the provincial government, bringing the United Farmers of Alberta Party into power. The new Minister, E. Perrin Baker, brought a different attitude to the position, and the atmosphere of mutual distrust which had existed between the teachers and the government was dispelled. The Minister did not refuse approval of contracts which provided for representation of the teacher by the A.T.A., and offered to recommend the adoption of any contract form agreed upon by the A.T.A. and the A.S.T.A.[9]

The A.S.T.A. Convention of 1922 showed that obtaining the agreement of the trustees to a more protective form of teachers' contract would be very difficult.[10] The delegates appear to have considered any limitation of their ability to hire and fire teachers at will an unwarranted restriction of local control of education. Their attitude was that there should be no further restrictions on dismissal than the thirty days' notice required by the *School Ordinance.*

Early in 1923, the Minister proposed an amendment of the *School Ordinance* to require a hearing of the teacher before dismissal and to provide for appeal to the Minister in case the school board finally gave notice. These amendments were to be accompanied by a simpler form of contract. The A.T.A. accepted this suggestion because it promised

prompt redress for unfair terminations, but when the Minister advocated his plan to the A.S.T.A. Convention, it was rejected. Negotiations between the bodies continued for a time, but no satisfactory compromise was reached.

Having lost hope of an agreement between the teachers and the trustees, the Minister decided to settle the matter himself. He dropped his earlier proposal and wrote a new contract form which provided for a hearing of the teacher before notice was given, and required only two day's notice of the hearing but omitted mention of representation for the teacher. On receiving protests from the Alliance, the Minister indicated that he would not object to the amendment of contracts to provide for longer notice but he declined to make any further change in the contract form.[11]

The contract form of 1923 remained in effect for the next three years. During this period, the question of financing rural education became increasingly important, and the Minister's plan for a three-mill blanket tax for education caused a deterioration of relationships between him and the A.S.T.A.

The A.T.A. continued to press for improvement in tenure legislation, and in 1926 obtained the replacement of the Board of Conciliaton by a Board of Reference.[12] This Board was a permanent body convened at the request of either school board or teacher and empowered to investigate any disagreement between them. If both parties agreed, it could act as a Board of Arbitration, in which case its decisions were binding. This legislation was followed by an improved form of contract which required that five days' notice of hearing be given to the teacher and specified that the hearing was to provide for discussion of the reasons for proposing to terminate the contract.

The A.T.A. was pleased with these changes, but this pleasure was dissipated when later developments showed that the Board of Reference could not actually provide the protection which the teachers needed. In over half the cases heard in the succeeding four years, the Board found in favour of the teacher, but there is no record that anything was done by either the school boards or the Minister to reinstate the teachers concerned. The Board's value to teachers appears to have been that the public hearing could absolve the teachers of any fault and thus protect his professional reputation. The A.T.A. requested that the Minister be given the power to reinstate teachers, and that school boards be prevented from filling the position of a teacher while his case was being considered by the Board of Reference.

After the legislation of 1926, the Minister became involved in a plan for improving rural education by consolidation of the small rural districts.[13] He was convinced that his plan would so improve the administration of rural education that further protection of teacher tenure would be

unnecessary. Thus no new tenure legislation was presented while the "Baker Bill" was under consideration.

IV.—*The Legal Efforts of the A.T.A.*

The Alliance had early adopted a policy of taking court action on behalf of teachers who had been illegally dismissed. During the decade from 1920 to 1930, this policy was notably successful in obtaining justice for teachers. By initiating legal action in cases where the school board's action was clearly unjust, although not so obviously illegal, the A.T.A. obtained a clearer definition of the status of the teacher with regard to tenure.

Some boards, to be sure of obtaining a teacher, had adopted the practice of accepting several teachers for the same position; when confirmation came from the teachers, they would then choose the most desirable one and notify the others that the position was filled. Although this procedure did not constitute breach of contract with the dismissed teacher, it was shown that a board which deliberately misled teachers in this way was open to suit for deceit.[14] Another test case questioned the right of the Minister to prescribe the terms of teachers' contracts, and this right was upheld.[15]

One section of the *School Act* provided for dismissal of teachers for gross misconduct; another section provided for appeal to the Minister by teachers who were dismissed. The connection between these two clauses was questioned and the court decision led to a more precise statement of the law, which is still in effect.[16] This statement provided for summary dismissal for cause and gave a teacher so dismissed the right to appeal to the Minister. Dismissal was considered to be different from termination of contract on due notice, which during this period could be for any reason, or for no reason at all.

About this time, a decision in the English courts showed that, even in the absence of legislation requiring the board to have valid reasons for dismissing a teacher, a dismissal could be reversed by the courts if it could be shown that the board had acted in bad faith or from corrupt motives.[17] Although aware of this decision, and furnished with many cases of unjust dismissal, the A.T.A. neglected to test this point directly, and they may have lost a valuable protection for the teacher through failure to do so.

V.—*The New School Act*

The repeated requests of the A.T.A. for greater power for the Board of Reference resulted in a meeting with a committee of the legislature in 1929. At this meeting the chairman of the Board of Reference testified that teachers were often unfairly treated, and that in his opinion, some cases would justify the reinstatement of the teacher despite the opposition of the school board. This committee recommended that dismissals

and resignations during the year should be limited to prevent the disruption of the school in the middle of the year.[18]

The Minister opposed any restriction on the school board's right to dismiss its teachers, but he presented to the A.S.T.A. a proposal to allow termination during the year only on the approval of an inspector of schools. He obtained the Trustee's consent to this proposal by agreeing to remove from the approved contract form the clause which provided for a hearing for the teacher before dismissal. The A.T.A. protested vigorously, presenting its views in a brief which was distributed to every member of the legislature. This was the first major attempt of the A.T.A. to influence legislation by a direct lobby among the members of the legislature.[19] It was apparently successful, for no legislation to implement the proposal was introduced.

In 1931 the Minister abandoned his plan for reorganization of the rural districts, and obtained the passage of a new *School Act,* the first complete revision which had been made since the formation of the province. This Act changed a number of the conditions governing teachers' contracts.[20] It stated that if a teacher was offered a position and he accepted within five days, both teacher and board were obligated to enter a contract in the prescribed form. The clause of the former contract form which had provided that contracts were to be continuous unless written for a definite period was placed into the Act. Terminations were permitted on thirty days' notice, but an inspector's approval was required if the notice was to be given during the school year. Without this approval boards were permitted to give notice in June; teachers in June or July. An attempt to have the provision for a hearing written into the Act was defeated when it was opposed by the Premier, Mr. Brownlee, on the grounds that it unduly complicated termination procedures. When the new contract form was released, this provision was, as the Minister had previously promised the A.S.T.A., omitted.

Although the Minister considered the limitation on the board's right to terminate contracts during the school year a major concession to the teachers, the A.T.A. was not pleased by the changes in the Act. They contended that the Inspector was not the person to give or withhold approval for terminations because such a duty was a judicial function and required an impartial investigation. This interpretation was supported by judicial opinion in a case which demonstrated that this provision applied to all contracts,[21] not just to those in the new approved form. The A.S.T.A. was also dissatisfied with the provisions of the new act, feeling that the giving of thirty days' notice should be sufficient at any time.

Following the 1932 Convention of the A.S.T.A., a committee of the A.S.T.A. met with representatives of the A.T.A., and this meeting arrived at an agreement concerning contracts.[22] The form of contract which was

approved provided for thirty day's notice, but prohibited notices of termination during the summer; it also provided for appeal to a Board of Reference by either teacher or school board. The Act was to be amended to suspend a termination until the appeal was heard, and to give the Board power to bind its decision on both parties. In making this agreement the Trustees felt that they had obtained an arrangement that treated teachers and board equally.

In spite of his earlier offers to implement any agreement which the A.S.T.A. and the A.T.A. reached, the Minister did not accept this one. He expressed the opinion that the A.S.T.A. would not support the action of their committee in reaching it. He persisted in this attitude even when the executive of the A.S.T.A. endorsed the agreement with only one dissenting vote. The proposed legislation was passed, but was left to be proclaimed at a later date[23]—presumably because the Minister wished to obtain the reaction of the A.S.T.A. Convention. There was reason to believe that the rural trustees, who would have much greater representation at the Convention than they had on the executive, would object to the additional power being given o the Board of Reference.

The 1933 Convention of the A.S.T.A., after hearing the Minister speak strongly against the agreement, passed a resolution asking for the repeal of the new amendments implementing it.[24] Although this was not done, the amendments were never proclaimed. The decision of the A.S.T.A. seems to have been influenced by the fact that at that time teachers' contracts still specified the amount of salary which the teacher would be paid. Trustees were afraid that the power of the Board of Reference would be used to compel them to keep paying the rate of salary specified by the contract year after year. This fear was related to the poor economic conditions of the Depression, but also to the fact that teachers were in oversupply, and could often be replaced by "cheaper" ones.

As a consequence of the earlier legislation and the economic and supply factors, school inspectors came under increased pressure in approving or preventing termination. The A.T.A. contended that before approving termination, the inspector must give the teacher a hearing. The Department of Education, however, did not share this opinion, and the A.T.A. eventually brought suit against an inspector for approving a termination without giving a hearing. An amendment to the *School Act* was introduced in the legislature, which would leave the matter of investigation completely at the inspector's discretion, and make his decision binding. A vigorous campaign by the A.T.A. resulted in an agreement by which the government withdrew the amendment and the A.T.A. dropped the suit against the inspector.[25]

In 1933 the salary situation continued to deteriorate, and many boards found ways to evade the statutory $840 minimum salary. Teachers were required to perform janitorial tasks, to rebate part of their salary to

the board or to pay high rents for teacherages. The oversupply of teachers often left them no alternative if they wished to have a job. In addition many boards were making all contracts short term ones to avoid the necessity of formal termination when they wished to reduce salaries.

These conditions combined to produce the worst tenure situation that Alberta teachers had ever faced. Mass meetings of teachers were held in Edmonton in June, 1933; lack of any check on terminations by the school boards was severely criticised.[26] At the same time the idea was expressed that teachers should become more active politically.

VI.—*An Effective Board of Reference*

The Government apparently felt that a need for greater protection of teacher tenure had developed, for during the winter of 1933 the Minister prepared an amendment to the Board of Reference clauses which provided for reinstatement if the Board was satisfied that the school board had not acted reasonably in dismissing the teacher. The A.T.A. did not accept the proposal, feeling that the wording was too involved, and the A.S.T.A. thinking that the A.T.A. had rejected it, gave it no attention. The Minister did not present the proposal to the A.S.T.A. Convention himself, and it was not considered by the trustees. Nevertheless, the proposed amendments became part of the *School Act* in 1934.

Although the Minister had admitted at the A.S.T.A. Convention that there were cases where reinstatement of the teacher seemed justified, it seems that the Premier was mainly influential in procuring the legislation of 1934.[27] This legislation provided that in a dispute over termination of a teacher's contract, the findings of the Board of Reference would be binding upon the board and the teacher. The Board was required to disallow the termination if satisfied that the agreement was not terminated because of the misconduct or inefficiency of the teacher, or because of personal qualities detrimental to the proper conduct of the school, or because of the financial conditions of the district, or for the welfare of the district. In addition, the legislation provided that the termination of agreement would be suspended until the report of the Board of Reference was in the hands of the parties involved.

It is not surprising that the A.S.T.A. was disgruntled over what they felt was complete disregard of their wishes; what is surprising is the fact that the A.T.A. was also upset. The teachers objected to the wording, saying that it required the teacher to prove his innocence. However, the reason for placing the burden of proof on the teacher was apparently found in the principle that the board as a public body was assumed to act correctly. In appealing a dismissal, the teacher was, in effect, charging the board with improper discharge of its duties; it therefore rested with the teacher to prove his case. The A.T.A. also felt, that since no restriction had been placed on term contracts, the legislation would be of little

help. Although this contention seems to have been justified, it is clear that by 1934 the major tenure legislation of Alberta had been achieved; the amendments of 1934 remain practically unchanged to the present.

Following the 1934 success, the A.T.A. turned their attention to the Teaching Profession Bill, the chief object of which was to require membership of all teachers in a professional organization. The A.S.T.A., however, realizing that they had been ineffective, took steps to increase their own influence and focussed their attention on the removal of the Board of Reference. School boards and individual trustees were requested to forward to their members of the legislature a prepared letter stating their desire to be free to terminate contracts without having to give reasons. Considerable time was spent by various members of the A.S.T.A. in lobbying; the Cabinet was reminded that trustees were much more numerous than teachers in the rural areas, and the point was not lost on the government members who were pondering their prospects in the general election which was to be held that June.

The leadership of the government had changed hands during the year, and when an amendment was proposed to prevent appeal to the Board of Reference for termination effective in July, Premier Reid supported it. Although the Minister of Education opposed so quick a change in the previous year's legislation, the amendment was passed, and the protection of teachers which had been provided the previous year was removed.[28] During the same session *The Teaching Profession Act* was passed, although, after strong oppostion by the Trustees, the clause requiring membership of all teachers was deleted. The Alliance, of course, became the professional organization of teachers and was then known as the Alberta Teachers' Association. The A.T.A. was extremely bitter over the deletion of the compulsory membership clause, and again took a greater interest in direct political action.

VII.—*The Consolidation of Tenure Legislation*

The advent of the Social Credit party in Alberta in 1935 brought about a major change in government policy concerning education. The Social Credit movement was, to a considerable degree, teacher oriented, and the new legislature had ten teacher-members, including the Premier, William Aberhart. The relationships between the A.T.A. and the government became most cordial, and the new government showed a deep concern for education. In spite of the opposition of the A.S.T.A., a policy of consolidation of rural school districts was adopted and the legislation for this purpose was passed in 1936.[29] *The Teaching Profession Act* was amended to make membership compulsory, although the amendment was not introduced by the government.

The question of restoring the powers of the Board of Reference was approached more cautiously. The teacher-members of the legislature

were determined to introduce more favourable legislation, and they met with representatives of the A.T.A. and the A.S.T.A. seeking an agreement.[30] The A.S.T.A. representatives were reluctant to concede anything, but felt forced to negotiate by the fear that the amendments introduced would otherwise be much more restrictive. They eventually agreed to the continuous contract provided the Board of Reference would not be restored, suggesting instead a meeting of the ratepayers to reconsider the termination of the teacher's contract. Apparently doubting their voting strength in the legislature, the A.T.A. accepted this proposal.

The amendments to implement this agreement were introduced in the 1938 session of the legislature by a private member. The legislature accepted the principle of continuous contracts, but rejected the idea of the ratepayers' meeting; at this point, a teacher-member moved the reinstatement of the Board of Reference, and the motion passed with little opposition. Thus the year 1938 saw at last the final changes in legislation necessary to give the teacher adequate protection from unjust dismissal.[31]

The reorganization of the rural districts reduced drastically the number of members in the A.S.T.A. and produced an internal crisis which distracted the attention of the organization from the tenure question. At the same time, under the new school division organization, tenure problems seem to have been less frequent. Increased emphasis on collective bargaining resulted in the eventual requirement in 1941 that all districts adopt a salary scale,[32] and in the application of the *Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act* to teachers.[33]

At the same time the written contract was eliminated, the conditions of a teacher's employment being determined by the provisions of *The School Act* and the salary schedule of the board. According to the Act, a valid contract existed when the board offered a position and the teacher accepted within eight days. Since salary disputes were to be handled by the procedures of the *Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act,* this duty was no longer required of the Board of Reference. This Board now dealt only with disputes relating to the termination of a teacher's employment, becoming a court of appeal for tenure problems only. With the effective separation of salary problems from tenure problems in 1941, the teachers tenure legislation of Alberta was essentially complete.

VIII.—*Conclusion*

The development of the tenure legislation of Alberta was obviously largely determined by the constant pressure of the Alberta Teachers' Alliance. Since the teachers are the chief beneficiaries of such legislation it is to be expected that little would result if they did not demand it. The trustees of Alberta strongly opposed such legislation, and the long delay in obtaining the original demands of the A.T.A. clearly resulted from this opposition. In the absence of a vocal organization of trustees, the teachers would have found their task much easier. The government seemed to

be largely influenced by the disagreement between the two organizations, and even the Social Credit government did not make tenure legislation a part of its official policy. The legislation which presently exists is to a large extent the result of an attempt to find a middle road between the demands of the teachers and the objections of the trustees.

This attempt at compromise is probably the major reason for the complex nature of the tenure law. Three different types of appeal from dismissal seem unnecessary; it would seem reasonable to have the Board of Reference handle all such cases.

The legislation was also greatly affected by the economic and political situation. The "victory" of 1934 for the trustees resulted from political pressure on an unstable government. The legislation of 1932 and 1934 resulted from the poor economic conditions—an attempt to relieve the poor circumstances of many teachers. The reinstatement of the Board of Reference in 1936 was clearly a result of the increased political influence of teachers by means of their activity in the Social Credit movement.

The factor which seems to have settled the major tenure controversy is the consolidation of the rural school districts. This change produced an improved administration which acknowledged the need for some method of handling grievances. The resulting decrease in the membership of the A.S.T.A. for a time diverted their attention from tenure matters and the changing nature of the membership also reduced the opposition to tenure legislation. Consolidation made it practical for rural school districts to adopt salary scales. Since this removal of salary from the teacher's contract in 1941, it seems unlikely that the right of the teachers of Alberta to security of tenure during efficiency and good behaviour will again be questioned.

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There are many academics who believe that research and publication are over stressed criteria for the promotion of academic staff. In this article the author considers several facets of the problem and particularly its impact upon university teaching.

DAVID J. CHABASSOL

University of Victoria

Research, Publication and Teaching

Two scholars of ancient Greece were discussing the recent demise of Socrates. "A terrible shame," said one. "He was a great teacher." "True," said the other, "but what else could he expect? He didn't publish."

The above anecdote, while apocryphal and amusing, serves to highlight a state of affairs on today's academic scene which is both real and serious. Reference is made, of course, to the publish or perish rule. It would be impossible to say when many university administrators adopted the idea that the quantity of published research was an extremely important, if indeed not the all-important criterion for determining the worth of the individual professor. Probably research output has always exerted some influence on the assessment of the faculty member, even in the days when it was insisted that the primary purpose of the professor was to teach. In more recent years, however, there has been a tendency for professorial excellence to be equated largely with research and scholarly writing. Ability as a teacher or as a university committee member now seem to count for little. Presumably the professor is expected to excel in these last-mentioned areas but is less likely to be recompensed for the exercise of such natural talents than are those who publish.

Where did this method of evaluation originate, and what has caused its widespread acceptance today? Hurt feels that the idea was copied from the German universities of the late nineteenth century.[1] He expresses the view that the idea was brought to this continent by returning graduate students. In such institutions at that time, scholarship and publication were apparently inseparable. He believes that what he calls the "German *universität* syndrome" might have had something to recommend it in that nation and in that era, but that little can be said to support it under present-day conditions on this continent.

The usual explanation for the current stress upon faculty research and publication is that it provides a criterion that can be easily measured, whereas teaching ability, for example, is a more intangible quality and is very difficult to assess. It is true that students and faculty can soon identify the poor teacher, but truly objective evaluations, such as would be

needed to support a dismissal or a salary freeze, are usually lacking. A problem also arises with reference to the good teacher. How frequently should his ability be rewarded? If Professor Smith is to receive a one thousand dollar increase this year because it is agreed by everyone that he is an excellent teacher, does it also follow that he should receive further increases next year because he continues to perform well before the class? Or does the administrator decide at some point that Smith's teaching ability has been quite adequately rewarded and demand something further of him? If so, what?

Some of the problems inherent in the above situation are removed if publication is accepted as the criterion by which a professor's worth is evaluated. After all, everyone can count titles, and the assumption is that the more titles reported by a faculty member each year the more productive he is and the more worthy he is of reward or preferment. Unfortunately, there are weaknesses in this method of appraisal. The administrator who is charged with the responsibility of counting titles may have little idea as to what constitutes a worthwhile publication in a given academic area. If he relies solely on quantity of titles he may do a disservice to someone who produces relatively little but whose articles are of excellent quality. Furthermore, not all journals are equally demanding with respect to the quality of manuscript which they will accept. One faculty member could have a prodigious output by publishing in periodicals which would accept virtually anything. Another professor might publish little, but do so in only the most highly regarded journals in his field. Finally, titles themselves can be misleading. Consider the not-so-hypothetical case of the modern languages professor who reports that in the past year he has produced two volumes of grammar in his chosen field. This is a most impressive accomplishment and one which is almost certain to redound to his credit financially. Closer investigation, however, reveals an interesting fact. The professor has neglected to point out that he has not produced two original volumes of grammar; he has reviewed two volumes which were written by someone else, and he has published his marginal notes, comments and criticisms for others to read. In fact, his two "volumes" contained a total of thirty-one pages. Such reporting, although perhaps not actually dishonest, is certainly somewhat devious and calculated to make it more difficult for the administrator to assess the merit and worth of the faculty member, if publication is to be the sole criterion. Perhaps it is not wholly unfair to hypothesise that the current trend toward the publication of anthologies or readings, many of which contain little comment by the editor, stems from the need to satisfy demands for publication. To do so does not detract from the value of the many excellent publications of this type.

An interesting point is made by Wriston, who feels that it may not be fair to ask all faculty members to produce research in essentially the

same amount and at the same time in their career.[2] He claims that striking contributions in the physical sciences and mathematics are frequently made by men who are still quite young but that significant contributions in the languages and humanities are usually the work of older men.[3] He implies that we do an injustice to scholars in the latter fields if we expect them to publish as early as their colleagues in the sciences. Hurt goes further and suggests that it is an error to assume that research and publication naturally result from study in the arts, humanities, and languages.[4] He believes that work in the physical sciences leads more normally to published research. He also deprecates the demand for early publication because he believes that it pressures the young scholar to publish when he may still be relatively uninformed in his area of presumed competence. It may well be that such premature publication will in the long run work to the detriment of the faculty member's reputation.

Undoubtedly, another reason for the emphasis on faculty research and publication is that original research, especially in the sciences, currently has great prestige. In an era when the public is aware of amazing advances in the fields of ballistics, space travel, medicine, and oceanography, to mention but a few, the universities have come to feel that they must play a part in the uncovering of new knowledge or else cease to occupy the position of prestige they now hold in the public eye. They cannot afford to become mere purveyors of facts and data provided by other sources or agencies. Mulligan quotes Norwood Hanson, a professor at Yale, as saying " . . . Yale has got to take a definite stand in favour of research if it expects to occupy a position of world leadership in thought in 1980 . . . "[5] Hanson's statement was evoked by widespread criticism of Yale's treatment of a brilliant young assistant professor of philosophy who refused to publish and was dismissed as a consequence.

A further reason for the university's interest in research lies in the fact that tens of millions of dollars in research grants are being made available by governments. Many of the projects involved can be carried out only in well-equipped universities. The faculty member who brings a large research grant to his university usually finds that this feat constitutes outstanding "merit", and his salary, rank and tenure are influenced accordingly. No one would seriously argue that a university should discourage its faculty members from engaging in worthwhile research if the university stands to gain something from being associated with an important piece of work. However, certain unfortunate circumstances result from taking such a stand. The obvious one is that the function of the faculty member is now reversed. He is no longer a teacher who does some research in an area of interest; he is a researcher who devotes virtually all his time to his project and little, if any to his teaching.

A recent article evaluates the impact of the 1.6 billion dollars which the American federal government pours into its various research and

development projects annually.[6] The article, a summary of some of the main points of a report of the Research and Technical Programs Subcommittee of the House of Representatives, tells of advances made in the various sciences but also mentions the adverse effects of such massive federal assistance. The report claims that university education in the sciences has been harmed by the excessive diversion of scientific manpower from teaching—that is, over-emphasizing research at the expense of good instruction at the undergraduate level.

In spite of this growing concern for the quality of teaching in the basic university courses, many academic institutions continue to entice "big name" professors with the usual promises of high salaries, impressive fringe benefits and, as an added attraction the promise that little in the way of classroom teaching will be expected of them. Such instructing as they are required to do will normally be at the graduate level. The university can point with pride to the inclusion of such luminaries on the faculty, and their presence may help the administration in its bid for more government aid in research projects, but they do not exist as far as the vast majority of students is concerned.

This "flight from teaching", as it has been called, has certain undesirable results. If teaching is to be regarded as an unpleasant undertaking which, because of its interference with research, is to be avoided at all costs, then obviously the bulk of the teaching load will fall upon the new and relatively unproductive faculty member or upon the graduate student who is supplementing his income by doing some instructing. Student unrest, so much in evidence today, is almost certainly in part due to the cavalier and shoddy treatment being accorded the undergraduate in many large universities. Mulligan quotes Dr. Clark Kerr of the University of California as stating, more than one year in advance of the Berkeley riots,

> . . . The undergraduate students are restless. Recent changes in the American university have done them little good: lower teaching loads for faculty, larger classes, the use of substitute teachers for the regular faculty, the choice of faculty members based on research accomplishments rather than instructional capacity, the fragmentation of knowledge into endless subdivisions . . . There is an incipient revolt of the undergraduate against the faculty. The students want to be treated as individuals . . . [7]

A further possible consequence of the University's desire to attract "big names" in research is revealed in the statement of Paul Weiss, a Yale faculty member who feels that one need not perish if he does not publish. Mulligan quotes Weiss as saying,

> . . . There is a feeling abroad in the land that nothing can improve education as much as the total elimination of the student. Universities have become places where eminent men come to discourse with other eminent men, and students just seem to get in the way of the dialogue . . . [8]

If this is truly the case, then someone has forgotten that universities were

originally created for the benefit of a student body and that those students had a very definite voice in the quality of instruction which was offered.

Abelson deplores the "flight from teaching" because it postpones what he calls the "meaningful contact" between students and professor until the former elects to do graduate work.[9] He points out that anyone can dispense facts; both TV and programmed instruction devices are known to be quite successful in this respect. The main function of the professor, this writer feels, is to provide various forms of guidance for the student, and to help him understand what the university experience is all about. He writes,

> . . . If a student has not become motivated before he reaches graduate school he is unlikely ever to become so. Failure to become motivated early lessens the effectiveness of the learning process. When a student does not know what he is in school for, he is half-hearted in his studying and easily distracted. Moreover, he is deprived of what should be a wonderful experience . . . [10]

Another writer sums up many of the arguments in favour of faculty research and publication by saying,

> . . . There are fewer and fewer tangible rewards for the academic who emphasizes teaching rather than publication. He does not help his university win grants. He does not stand much of a chance of getting them for himself. He is not likely to be sought after by other institutions. And even if he does teach well, the very size of his classes and of the university may hinder his efforts or, if he is successful, hide them from view of those who will decide on his academic fate . . . [11]

Voices are raised in dissent against this method of faculty evaluation. There are members of the student body, the general public, the faculty, and administrators who disagree with the publish or perish stand. Generalization is dangerous, but it would appear that there are those at all levels who are prepared to take a position and declare themselves to be in favour of the retention of good teachers whose lists of publications are not impressive. Students, both in print and in action have shown themselves to be opposed to the dismissal of excellent teachers who failed only in that they did not produce an article annually and a book every five years. Also, student "anti-calendars" have consistently revealed the undergraduate's lack of reverence for the illustrious researcher whose infrequent classroom performances are often mediocre, at best.

Articles in the popular, large-circulation magazines bespeak the interest of the general public in the matter. The excellent article by Fischer is extremely pessimisitc about the possibility of the situation being altered from within.[12] He implies that universitiy circles are lethargic, hidebound, and quite convinced of their own infallibility. He believes, however, that a concerted effort by students, parents, and big business (the latter being the most popular target in fund-raising campaigns) might eventually bring about the changes which he feels to be necessary. The probability of an early about-face is discounted, however, by the fact that numerous deans and department heads are themselves "publication men" who owe

their own successes to their research records. Obviously such men would not be interested in bringing about the demise of a system which has served them well.

It is interesting to note that not all administrators are in favour of the pro-publication, anti-teaching stand. Dr. Logan Wilson, former president of the University of Texas and now president of the American Council of Education, has stated,

> . . . Our primary obligation to students in residence implies top priority for the teaching function . . . There is danger in many places that the student, and particularly the undergraduate, may become the 'forgotten man' as our institutions become increasingly involved in off-campus concerns . . . Research should have the next priority in many, but by no means all institutions. In the foreseeable future I doubt that our nation needs or can fully support more than forty or fifty really distinguished, research-oriented universities . . . It is not only wasteful but also futile to think that every locality should aspire to having one or more . . . I believe that on most campuses it is sufficient to expect the average faculty member to keep abreast of his field. Since real creativity in research is a very scarce talent anyhow, I think that most faculty members would benefit themselves and their institutions more by devoting greater effort to the improvement of their teaching . . . . [13]

The above statement was made at the twentieth National Conference on Higher Education, which met in Chicago in March, 1965. At this same conference, delegates representing hundreds of institutions of higher education in the U.S.A. passed, with little comment and no dissenting voices, the recommendation that,

> . . . The Conference urge the following actions: (1) increasing acceptance of the responsibility of all colleges for faculty development programs aimed at improvement of instructional facilities [and] (2) increasing consideration of instructional excellence as a factor comparable to published research in collegiate policies for advancement in rank, salary, and tenure for faculty members. . . . [14]

It is apparent from the above statements that there is considerable opposition, even at the administrative level, to the publish or perish doctrine.

What does the professor think of this great emphasis upon publication as a measure of faculty merit? Obviously the answer depends upon the individual professor. Some have openly rebelled and have been dismissed as a consequence. Sayre, who was released by Tufts College because he refused to meet their demands for "scholarly contribution", states that he has received hundreds of letters backing him in his stand.[15] Some letters have come from former professors who have given up in the face of increasing demands for publication. Others have come from faculty members who have remained in their posts but who are increasingly bitter about the demands which have been made upon them. Perhaps most unfortunate of all is the fact that many letters have come from students who had considered university teaching as a career but who have ruled it out because they do not wish to become involved in the frenzied existence which they have observed on their own campuses.

The other side of the argument, from the professor's standpoint, has been revealed within the past year.[16] This provides an account of the demands made upon a presumably typical young assistant professor in a large American university. The professor in question is admitted to be one of the best teachers on the faculty. He is extremely popular with his students and his advice is eagerly sought after. He makes himself very accessible and, on occasion, interviews as many as twenty students a day. He is also active on committees, and apparently his efforts are thoroughly appreciated. However, he knows that his struggle for tenure is in no way enhanced by his teaching ability or his contributions to the administrative life of the university. Unless he publishes a book which is well received, he cannot hope for a permanent appointment. If he is not able to meet the university's demands for publication, then, as he notes, " . . . The university will tell me, 'We've milked you for years, here's your pink slip' . . . " What is his evaluation of this system which overlooks everything but publication as being deserving of reward? Interestingly enough, he agrees with it. He states, "Good guys, good teachers, or good committee members don't get promoted. You've got to publish, and rightly so. It's a tough system but I think it's a good one . . . "

Is it a good system? The individual reader is left to answer that question for himself. However, it cannot be denied that any method of evaluation which has engendered such controversy must be subjected to the most careful scrutiny. We in Canada are frequently accused of being devoid of original ideas. We tend, so we are told, to borrow and to use only that which has been tried out by others. If this accusation is valid, then our position has its advantages because we are permitted to see the weaknesses and flaws in a particular system as others subject it to the stresses and strains of use. It would appear that the publish or perish stand is encountering some rather heavy opposition in its home territory —perhaps we in Canada might consider this fact before we endorse it any more strongly.

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In this article the author reviews and critically analyzes the findings of psychological research into problems associated with teaching and learning a second language. The findings are of special interest to those concerned with decisions regarding the current emphasis upon bilingualism in Canada.

CHARLES C. ANDERSON

University of Alberta

Psychological Contributions to Education: A Decision Concerning Second-Language Learning In The Elementary School

The advantages of multilingualism are fairly clear. For example, Lambert (1963), Peal and Lambert (1962) and Riestra and Johnson (1964) have found that it decreases ethnocentric attitudes and Stern asserts that monolingualism " . . . teaches the strangeness and fundamental alienness, perhaps inferioity, of 'the others' within our country or beyond its boundaries."[1] Add to this the vocational, political and personal-prestige value of even one other language apart from the native tongue and the prediction is compelling that, in the future, an educated man will by definition be bilingual in some sense of this term. Accordingly there is an understandably urgent desire on the part of various controlling agencies in society to have the second language* taught as early as possible. What can the psychologist contribute to rational decision-making in this area?

In the first place, he can examine the theory and tactics of Penfield,[2] the great proponent of early L_2 teaching on whom everyone so uncritically relies. Penfield points out that:

> . . . the remarkable re-learning of a child after injury or disease destroys the speech areas in the dominant left cerebral hemisphere . . . Child and adult alike become speechless after such an injury, but the child will speak again, and does so normally after a period of months. The adult may or may not do so, depending on the severity of the injury.
>
> Examples of completely successful transfer of speech mechanism from the left to the right hemisphere in children under three or four years of age are numerous . . . But when the injury to the dominant hemisphere of an adult in his twenties or beyond is severe enough, he may never recover normal speech.[2]

*The second language will be coded as L_2 in this paper, the first or native language L_1.

On the basis of this sort of information Penfield produces a metaphor which is such a curious mixture of the physical and the psychological as to have connotative meaning only.*

On the basis of the picture, without any sanction in professional psychology and representing an unwarranted extrapolation from a psychological base, Penfield concludes that the child has a remarkable capacity for learning various languages between the ages of four and ten years, and that "Later, with the appearance of capacity for reason and abstract thinking, this early ability is largely lost."[4]

On the basis of this and like inferences, the Modern Language Asociation of America issued a *Bulletin* which contained the following recommendation:

> The optimum age for beginning the continuous learning of a second language seems to fall within the span of ages four through eight, with superior performance to be anticipated at ages eight, nine and ten. In this early period, the brain seems to have the greatest plasticity and specialized capacity needed for acquiring speech.[5]

Now there are serious difficulties in the way of Penfield's theorizing quite apart from the extensive use of metaphor and the absence of operational definition of terms. In the first place, there is no evidence for Penfield's contention, only inferences from neurological findings, and social-linguistic observations. Examples of the latter include the fact that immigrant children speak both native and second language flawlessly while their parents speak the latter with a marked accent, which can readily be accounted for by non-neurological speculation. For example,

> . . . It is probable that given equal time, aptitude and motivation, adults can learn to speak foreign languages with at least the same amount of ease or difficulty that children experience.[6]

A second criticism of Penfield's formulation is the absence of operational definitions. "The only evidence we have that children learn in a different way from adults is obtained by observing people learn."[7] What is required to validate Penfield's views is a demonstration that, in a monoglot culture or sub-culture, the early learning of a second language is

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*The present writer does not object to the use of metaphor to picture brain functioning/behaviour. As an interim measure this is often necessary but it cannot be tolerated as a permanent substitute for the operational definition of psychological concepts.

> Before the age of nine to twelve, a child is a specialist in learning to speak. At that age he can learn two or three languages as easily as one. It has been said that an Anglo-Saxon cannot learn other languages well. That is only because as he grows, he becomes a stiff and resistant individualist, like a tree—a sort of oak that cannot be bent in any graceful manner. But the Anglo-Saxon, if caught young enough, is as plastic and as good a linguist as the child of any other race . . . for the purposes of learning languages the human brain becomes progressively stiff and rigid after the age of nine.[3]

markedly more effective in terms of accepted criteria (for example, more accurate, fluent and accent-free speech) than its postponement until Grade 7 or 8.

A third criticism is that making statements about the behaviour of an intact organism derived from inferences based on the study of impaired organisms is hazardous at best (Gregory, 1963).

Finally, Penfield regards as evidence* of the child's greater "specialized capacity for learning language . . . "[8] the undoubted fact that children of immigrant parents speak L_2 with an accent-free fluency which their parents cannot rival. Others like Milner (1960) and Carroll (1963), while realizing that the superiority of the children's performance does not necessarily imply the existence and decline of such a neurologically-based capacity, nevertheless accept that superiority as a fact without enquiring into its causes. A start might be made in this direction by considering an unusual example of child multilingualism provided by Tomb.

> It is a common experience in the district of Bengal in which the writer resides to hear English children three or four years old who have been born in the country conversing freely at different times with their parents in English, with their ayabs (nurses) in Santali, and with the house-servants in Hindustani, while their parents have learnt with the aid of a munshi (teacher) and much laborious effort just sufficient Hindustani to comprehend what the house-servants are saying (providing they do not speak too quickly) and to issue simple orders to them connected with domestic affairs. It is even not unusual to see English parents in India unable to understand what their servants are saying to them in Hindustani, and being driven, in consequence to bring along an English child of four or five years old if availbale to act as interpreter.[9]

Three related reasons for this state of affairs can be brought forward. In the first place, the child has to learn by Penfield's direct method, i.e., it learns to speak and think in L_2 without the direct intermediary of L_1, or, in Osgood's terminology, the new linguistic sign is learned by being associated with the significate (sign learning) and not by being associated with another (L_1) sign, (assign learning) (Osgood, 1953). In the second place, the feedback is exclusively in L_2, a fact which elicits more L_2 performance from the child. Finally, there is a raw and initially traumatic compulsion about it all. The only way the child can operate in its new environment is by learning to speak L_2, and the flawless accent will

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*He is not alone in this mistake—see Andersson (1960) and Stern (1964). Even the first behaviourist, J. B. Watson (1929), took this position, although for him the child's flexibility was of a muscular and not a "mental" sort. Andersson concludes that we cannot waste this "uncanny gift for language acquisition . . . " (1960, p. 17) by refusing to press ahead with the early teaching of L_2 in the school.

come from the shaping-up* power of exclusively L_2 feedback from others. This is the rationale behind Gauthier's (1963) Tan-Gau method.

By contrast, the parents of Tomb's are in a poor position for learning L_2. Their native servants will have learned to speak English sufficiently well to make it unnecessary for them to acquire another language. In the case of an immigrant family in the U.S., the parents are likely to interact almost exclusively with people who speak their own L_1, and to settle for a compromise performance of L_2 which will allow them to do business with L_2 monoglots. The children, on the other hand, will probably be playing largely with L_2 monoglots and the more extensive feedback of L_2, together with their desire not to be considered strange or unusual, will ensure the superior L_2 performance.

And the very cogent reasons have nothing to do with neurologically-based "specialized capacities" for the acquisition of language. An obvious prediction from all this would be that, if the immigrant parents suddenly became occupationally mobile and they saw that their future success depended at least partly on being able to acquire an accent-free L_2 performance, then that performance would be forthcoming fairly quickly. In general, the individual learning a language must decide about the payoff for reaching the various levels of proficiency (Edwards, 1962). He will expect, for any improvement in performance, a corresponding increase in the payoff or advantage to himself, defined in terms of the realization of his values or the avoidance of their transgression.† Any continued accretion of this sort will sharpen L_2 performance in the desired direction and reciprocally cause L_1 to disappear from the hierarchy of dominant speech habits.

The power of this formulation over Penfield's lies in its easy openness to experimental test and its flexibility in the sense that it can entertain a much larger number of independent variables functionally related to L_2 performance than can Penfield's. For example, the present writer knows a rather intelligent young man who grew up in Canada, was taught English (L_2) in school and spoke it in the neighborhood, at the university and so on, and yet speaks it in a broken fashion. Indeed frequently he

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*This term has behaviouristic overtones. Skinner (1953), for example, uses it to mean the progressive perfecting of a skilled act until it reaches some criterial level, and he provides the analogy of a sculptor's shaping of his material. And Greenspoon (1956) has found that one member of a dyad (A) can shape up the verbal behaviour of the other member (B) in this way. However, Farber (1961) has shown fairly conclusively that one variable influencing B's performance is a decision to go along with A to find out what he is up to! The present writer takes the view, therefore, that both behaviouristic variables (stimulus weight and reinforcement schedules) and cognitive variables (find out the rule for a situation and see if it works) are relevant here.

†A general theory of motivation which makes this concept less disjunctive than it appears can be found in Andersson (1961).

understands a strange English word by finding its translation-equivalent in L_1, the only language spoken at home. The reason for this is the exclusive use of L_1 in the home and the great emphasis on accurate performance in it. This example can be handled fairly easily by the present approach which allows emphasis as well as reinforcement schedules, to be important determinants of L_2 performance.

In the second place, the psychologist knows that the battle is half-won when the correct questions are asked. He knows that research into the question of the comparative effectiveness of early and later L_2 learning is unlikely to influence educational decision-making for two reasons: (1) many variables, more powerful than age and difficult to control in a realistic setting, appear to determine the effectiveness of L_2 learning, and (2) the extent to which age at initial learning is a powerful determinant of performance in the later grades will depend on the criterial attributes used to evaluate that performance. There is no guarantee that early aural-oral training will cause one group, in comparison to another group without it, to show a superior performance in a later examination shaped by more academic criteria of competence involving understanding, reading, and writing. Perhaps this is the reason why reputable research studies in this area (Justman and Cass, 1956; Carroll, 1960; Sweet, Patkau and MacKinnon, 1961, and their 1962 Toronto Investigation; Carroll, 1963a; Stern 1963; Stern, 1964) are so unfriendly to Penfield. So unfriendly in fact that Stern (1964) urges going ahead with the introduction of a foreign language in the elementary school in case research evidence begins to accumulate showing that it is a waste of time!

The only study which is not subject to the criticism is by Dunkel and Pillet (1962) whose French instruction, begun in Grades 3 and 4, rapidly took on academic flavour (reading was begun in the second year of the teaching). The main conclusion was that five years of the programme was equivalent to four semesters of high-school French if performance was measured in terms of listening and comprehension and slightly less if measured in terms of knowledge of reading vocabulary and grammar. However no later long-term effects have been demonstrated, and, in any case, the accents were not good even after five years and the programme, according to the authors, was of questionable value to the low-ability students—quite an admission when the research was done in the favoured atmosphere of the University of Chicago Elementary School.

A research question, proper investigation of which might yield information of practical value, might take the following form: given the sort of performance in L_2 which the child is expected to attain as a goal of a particular school programme, how many hours of what kind of instruction will be needed before he reaches that level? (Carroll, 1960). Or, which combination of variables will shape up most effectively and economically the desired performance? The provision of a clear target or

dependent variable has obvious advantages to the psychologist, the curriculum specialist and the administrator. Even if a researcher could show that beginning the teaching of L_2 in grade 3 rather than in grade 7 results in a superior performance in grade 9, this might tell us nothing by itself about the extent to which the pupil can use his final knowledge to converse with L_2 natives. All this will certainly raise problems such as the purpose of learning L_2 and the extent of the difference between courses in L_2 for everybody and the usual L_2 courses geared to university entrance.

This leads to another contribution the psychologist can make: his awareness of the complexity of the variables involved in L_2 performance. For example, a first group of independent variables includes the degree of extra-scholastic contact with L_2 and feedback from other people speaking it (Smith, 1963). Here there is a gradient of contact running from the case where L_2 is used in the immediate family or household of the child to a fourth case where L_2 is the language of a population and a considerable distance away and is practically never heard by the child except through mass media and advertising (Carroll, 1963b). Another group of closely-interacting variables involves the opportunity to learn and this comprises subsidiary variables like the age at which L_2 is introduced at school, whether, and when, it is made the language of instruction, whether it is the common medium of instruction because of the heterogeneity of children's language backgrounds, and the skill of the teacher.

Important groups of mediational variables include the intelligence, linguistic aptitude (Carroll, 1963a) and socio-economic status (Dunkel and Pillett, 1962), motivation to learn (degree of emphasis and reinforcement at home and the political, cultural, vocational and social-status of L_2), and the way it is learned by the pupil. A specific example of the last variable might be Penfield's direct and indirect methods, which resemble a topic to be discussed later, Ervin and Osgood's co-ordinate and compound bilingualism.

The array of dependent variables is forbidding, according to Carroll:

> What level of auditory comprehension must he reach? What degree of fluency in speaking must he attain, and how accurate must his phonology and grammar be? What level of reading attainment is expected, if any, and must the child also learn to write accurately in the second language? What are the requirements with regard to spelling, punctuation. . . . ?[10]

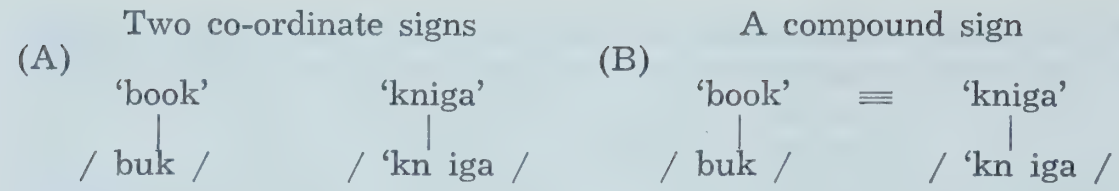
Carroll hazards the view that a standard situation would consist of the following variables: the level and sorts of attainment—undecided; the degree of contact with L_2—fourth case; the opportunities to learn—L_2 never a medium of instruction and the grade at which it is introduced is unknown; motivation—perhaps positive reinforcement in the home and L_2 is seen as having vocational value; mode of learning—largely compound bilingualism. A psychologist would then ask himself the following

question: assuming that these variables define the total learning situation, how can I select the dominant ones for experimental study? For answers he would turn to theories of learning and motivation.

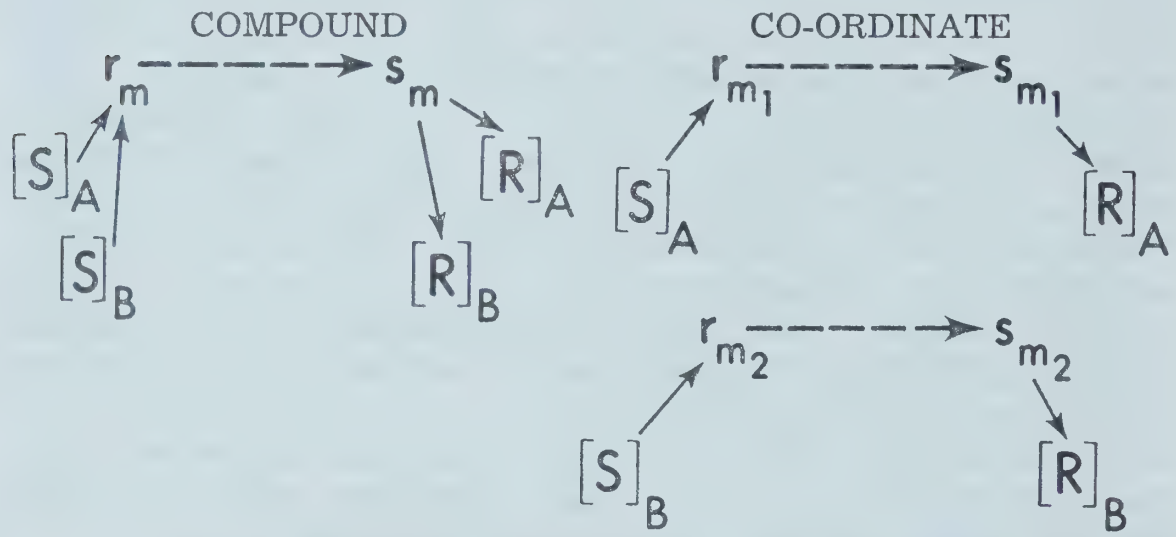
Marschak (1965) talks about two branches of communication; the normative or efficiency sort which involves setting up goals and recommending means which, with a very high degree of probability, will enable us to reach the goals, and the explanatory sort which ascertains the attributes that have enabled the communication system to survive for a long time. Clearly, recommendations concerning valuable normative means might be based on knowledge of explanatory attributes. This distinction is applicable to the present topic. Clearly the normative branch of communication is analogous to the research proposed into the variables that promote efficient performance in the areas in which we think a pupil should do well at the end of grade 9; the explanatory branch of communication is analogous to an investigation into the conditions which have enabled the bilingual to retain possession of two languages. Perhaps some of these conditions might be transferred to assist the monoglot more quickly and successfully to achieve the desired level of performance in L_2. The psychologist enters the picture here as a theorist of bilingual performance. The present writer will use an applied and abbreviated* version of Ervin and Osgood's (1954).

Ervin and Osgood assume that a person learning a second language must acquire two sets of decoding (understanding of the stimulus) and encoding (responding) habits. Consider the simple case of an English-speaking child learning the French word for "church". The acquisition of the word, i.e., the meaningful response "l'église" in response to appropriate visual and auditory cues can be achieved in two ways. Firstly, it can be learned through association with the English word with which it, therefore, must share the same meaning—this is the beginning of compound bilingualism in which the lexical systems and grammatical rules of L_2 are established because the individual learns translation-equivalents in L_1. Secondly, the word "l'église" can be learned through association with its appropriate object, in which case a meaning is established different from that associated with "church"—this is the beginning of co-ordinate bilingualism in which L_1 lexical units and grammatical rules are learned in, and touched off by, one context of significance or linguistic signs, and L_2 units and rules by another. Weinrich illustrates the difference from the example of the English "book" and the Russian "kniga."[11]

*A more extensive version is given by Lambert (1963) but this does not take into account the recent complications introduced by Osgood.



Ervin and Osgood's more abstract formulation together with their comments are show below.



In such a system, two sets of linguistic signs, one appropriate to language A ($[S]_A$), and the other appropriate to language B ($[S]_B$), come to be associated with the same set of meanings ($r_m \longrightarrow s_m$). On the encoding side, likewise, the same set of meanings come to be alternatively associated with two sets of linguistic responses, one in language A ($[R]_A$) and the other in language B ($[R]_B$). This development is typical of learning a foreign language in the school situation. It is obviously fostered by learning vocabulary lists, which associate a sign from language B with a sign and its meaning in language A. A compound system can, however, also be characteristic of bilingualism acquired by a child who grows up in a home where two languages are spoken more or less interchangeably by the same people in the same situations. In this instance some compromise representational processes taken from both languages may be established, with neither having pronounced dominance.[12]

Clearly the two sorts of bilingualism represent the opposite poles of a gradient of confusion or conflict which is defined in terms of the extent to which compound signs activate a slow and/or erroneous response in either language as a result of the degree to which common meanings mediate alternative and incompatible responses. This can be effectively illustrated from the extreme example of a balanced compound bilingual and a dominant* co-ordinate *English*-French bilingual who are asked to name an object (significate) to which their attention is directed (say, a

*A balanced bilingual shows to a stimulus a response similar in speed in L_1 and L_2 whereas a dominant bilingual shows a significant difference in speed of response in favour of L_1.

church). In the case of the balanced, compound bilingual, the equiprobable and incompatible L_1 and L_2 responses might very well result in a delayed reaction time, i.e., response competition would occur in the face of two associated linguistic cues mediated by one representational mediational process (Lambert, Havelka and Crosby, 1958). One the other hand, the dominant *English*-French co-ordinate bilingual would respond with "church" much more quickly.

A more realistic and intense response indicating this sort of conflict is the protocol given below which was submitted by a bilingual graduate student.

> Whenever someone encourages me to déguster (savour) some particular food, this gives rise to a thought of the word "disgust". The incompatibility of the two makes it impossible for me to partake of the offering without pronounced feelings of revulsion for that which is being offered.

The co-ordinate bilingual is much less susceptible to interference of this sort than his compound counterpart. Factors promoting this desirable state of affairs, apart from the presence of a divergent meaning, includes feedback from previous utterances and from the responses of others in a social situation, and the learning of a word in association with a significate. As Ervin and Osgood comment:

> . . . stimuli arising from the scenes, objects, and people present during the formation of a language will also be associated more strongly with mediator appropriate to that language. Hence (co-ordinate) bilinguals report that when they are with, or even think about their parents or their home, the parental language becomes more available.[13]

Of course, these sorts of bilingual poles are rarely found in their pure state. For example, some sort of confusion must take place when the co-ordinate bilingual is asked to translate from one language to another as the intermediary between communicating monoglots who speak different languages. Further, many significates must have attributes (perhaps criterial ones) in common, a condition militating against the presence of divergent meanings to the same stimulus. Again, continued unicultural use of two signs which are translation-equivalents but which have slightly different meanings is bound to produce a loss of distinctiveness in meanings appropriate to the two languages, because a common invariant meaning often must be struck in the interests of cognitive economy (Cherry, 1957; Rokeach and Rothman, 1965). Evidence, to be discussed later, of a gradual fusion with age of co-ordinate with compound systems is provided by Lambert, Havelka and Crosby (1958).

Correspondingly, the compound bilingual who has learned that church is *l'église* might learn to discriminate between the two in terms of their distinctive attributes (amount and sort of ornamentation, music, and so forth).

All of this suggests that, while the co-ordinate-compound distinction has merit, the distribution of language systems in terms of the extent of divergence in meanings is perhaps more bimodal than U-shaped.

The available evidence tends to support the Ervin and Osgood positions. Lambert, Havelka and Crosby (1958) asked co-ordinate and compound bilinguals to rate four English words ("house", "drink", "poor", "me") and their translated equivalents in French on the semantic differential. The difference in meanings between the two lists was significantly greater for the co-ordinate than for the compound bilinguals. However, this finding was very largely a product of the presence among the co-ordinate bilinguals of a sub-group which had learned L_2 in a different geographical region (bicultural experience). Co-ordinate bilinguals who had learned both languages in one geographical region (unicultural experience) did not differ significantly in the meanings they ascribed to each English word and its French equivalent. Lambert, Havelka and Crosby comment:

> Experience in bicultural acquisition contexts, where there is a greater likelihood that the actual referents of translated symbols are different, does appear to affect the semantic aspects of the bilingual's two languages.[14]

Lambert and Fillenbaum (1959) validate two predictions which they take to be derived from Ervin and Osgood: that, after aphasia, both languages are impaired in compound bilingualism, i.e., the effect of the disorder is generalized, whereas the impairment is confined largely to the non-dominant language in co-ordinate bilingualism. However the extent to which the prediction is logically implicit in Ervin and Osgood is based on the physical accuracy of some fairly vague neural representations of language storage advanced by Lambert and Fillenbaum. For example: "Thus, the concepts, 'house' and *'maison'* which are more fundamentally independent for co-ordinate than for compound bilinguals would be 'stored' in neural elements which have some sort of greater functional discreteness for the co-ordinate bilinguals."[15] Accordingly, the present findings merely render Ervin and Osgood's theory slightly more attractive than before.

Lambert and Jakobovits (1960) show that the continuous repetition of a word reduces its meaningfulness, the verbal satiation effect previously noticed by Valéry (in Hevesi, 1947) and remarkably similar to the break-off phenomenon in aviation (Bennett, 1961). Therefore if Ervin and Osgood's theory is correct, there would be a transfer of this temporary meaninglessness to the translation-equivalent word in the case of compound bilinguals but not so much in the case of co-ordinate bilinguals. This prediction was verified by Jakobovits and Lambert (1961).

The significance for foreign-language teaching of Ervin and Osgood's theory is clear: in co-ordinate training, a sign is associated with an environmental event or significate: in compound training, it is associated with a translation-equivalent in the other language. These are Penfield's direct and indirect methods. Wimer and Lambert (1959) demonstrated that nonsense syllables as responses are learned significantly more

quickly when paired with object stimuli than when the stimuli are the names of objects, a finding which

> . . . suggests that environmental events are more effective stimuli for the acquisition of foreign-word responses than are native-language equivalents for the new words, at least for the learning of a simple, basic vocabulary.[16]

A most plausible explanation for this effect is the greater relative semantic dissimilarity or distinctiveness among objects than among concepts.

Lambert and Yeni-Komshian (1964) have demonstrated that vocabulary is much better retained and more efficiently used when the training is of a compound rather than a co-ordinate sort. However, the findings of the last two studies should be viewed with some reserve. The resort to the laboratory situation with its experimental controls materially reduces the realism of the learning situation and the consequent applicability of its findings to the classroom. For example, Lambert claims that his study with Yeni-Komshian " . . . is examining the merits of learning of two languages concurrently *from an early age,* in contrast to learning one language well before the second is attempted . . . "[17] However the subjects used were in Grade II. Further, investigations in the real-life situation occasionally do not corroborate the findings from the experimental situation. Lambert, Gardner, Barik and Tunstall (1963) found that, after a six-week course of instruction in French taught by the direct method, those bilinguals who maintained semantic distinctiveness between English and French translated-equivalent concepts performed significantly more poorly than those who did not on general achievement in French (speaking, reading, writing, literature and civilization).

Despite the present writer's distaste for behaviouristic formulations of linguistic performance (Miller, 1955) and particularly of Osgood's (1963) recent puzzling attempt to push his brand of neo-behaviourism beyond the apparent limits of its explanatory power, nevertheless he would draw three conclusions from the work of Ervin and Osgood for those who want L_2 to be retained and used effectively by children living in a monoglot culture or sub-culture: (1) *all* instruction in school, at least part of the time, must be in L_2; (2) if this is impractical because of powerful constraints against it (for example, shortage of teachers), then the students should spend part of the year—say a summer vacation in L_2 country—and be forced to speak and think in the second language before they get what they want—in both of these situations, the training will be of the direct co-ordinate type—and (3) in such a culture or sub-culture at any grade level, the setting aside of part of the day for aural-oral compound or pseudo-co-ordinate training in L_2 will prove fruitless because retention and use of L_2 will be poor, and, in the case where instruction begins before grade IV, there may be impairment of unknown duration in L_1 performance. Briefly, if you want to learn a new language go where it is used to denote objects in the environment.

Some extensive consideration should be given to a motivational factor which, although not treated by Ervin and Osgood, powerfully influences L_2 performance. Since a language expresses (and is, therefore, perfectly associated with) the distinctive rules and values which represent a culture (Foa, 1964) and inform the "social character" (values and sense of personal worth) (Wheelis, 1958) of each of its natives, giving up a language, which appears to be heralded by beginning to learn L_2, can be interpreted as a betrayal of one's country and oneself (Weinreich, 1953). This is the psychological basis of exhortations like *"Il faut garder la langue"* and of the desire by certain national groups to keep their languages "pure" and free from contamination by neologisms of foreign origin. The same sort of substitution of a language for a religious faith may take place if the native speakers of that tongue belong predominantly to a denomination. Haugen quotes the following dictum as referring to the French Acadians: "Faith preserves language and language preserves faith."[18]

The French, to judge from two reports in *The Times* of London (March 12 and May 30, 1964) and their Académie Française, are particularly exercised about the sort of verbal amalgam usually dubbed 'Le Franglais' which sports anglicisms such as 'le self-service', 'le weekend', un drunk', le show business' and so on. This is a political issue also in that the De Gaullists are particularly hostile to anglicisms of this sort.

Relevant here is the finding that, in Lambert's (1963) account of French achievement in Hartford (Connecticut), Maine and Louisiana, the poorest achievement by students was in Louisiana where it was associated with unfavourable stereotypes of the French. And Liebling (1960) has commented unfavourably upon the mauling of French proper names in that state.

It is not very surprising, therefore, that an "integrative orientation" to L_2, defined as a desire to know more about the L_2 group and, ultimately, to become a member of it (Lambert, 1963) should be found to be a main factor promoting the acquisition of L_2. Lambert infers that this orientation is a product of the favourable emphasis by L_1 parents of aspects of L_2 culture and their reinforcement of the child's behaviour which fits this emphasis. In Lambert's own words, the

> proper orientation toward the other group is developed within the family: students with an integrative disposition to learn French had parents who also were integrative and sympathetic to the French community. The students' orientations were not related to parents' skill in French, nor the number of French acquaintances the parents had, indicating that the integrative motive is not due to having more experience with French at home but more likely stems from a family-wide attitudinal disposition.[19]

However Lambert does not enquire into why the parents should adopt this favourable attitude. The answer provided by the present writer is that they may have belief (and disbelief) systems which they

see as similar to those of the L_2 group. A belief system is taken to comprise rules or codes which an individual takes to be currently true of the world he lives in. These rules represent the recurrent regularities (redundancies) in the environment and their function is to reduce the complexity of stimuli bombarding the individual at any given time, and thereby to make coherent action possible. There are two largely incompatible attitudes to rules of this sort which may be discussed, as hypotheses and expectancies, in terms of the syntactic and semantic rules for rendering equivalent apparently discrepant input (Bruner, 1957). Or they may be discussed, as values and norms, in terms of the extent to which they express our conceptions of the desirable (Getzels, 1958).

For example, Wilson (1963) distinguishes between people who engage in conceptual anaylsis and those who use concepts for preaching, a distinction very similar to that between a 'casual-genetic set' for understanding behaviour in terms of underlying conditions and determinants, and an 'evaluative set' for an immediate judgment as to whether it is good or bad.

The second sort of belief comes largely from principal controlling agencies (government and the law, religion and society in general) which distributes rewards (or punishments) to individuals following (transgressing) approved beliefs (Skinner, 1963). These beliefs, enshrined and educational and social practices, frequently divide peoples or sub-groups and are the source of the present writer's contention about the power of belief (and disbelief) systems to influence second-language learning. Consider, for example, that part of Métraux and Mead's (1953) discussion of themes in French culture in which they recount the French belief that a young bachelor should acquire sexual experience and knowledge through the sort of casual affairs with older, experienced women which are so intensely described by Colette (1956). This is unlikely to be approved of in North America, especially, perhaps, by the older, experienced male (Wylie, 1962). Or consider Wylie's important conclusion

> One way in which Americans and Frenchmen seem clearly to differ is in their conception of the rules that govern social behaviour. The French generally believe that it is right for people to be forced to accept the sharply defined framework which man has projected onto the chaos into which he is born. Americans, on the other hand, generally feel that individuals should not be hampered in their free development but should discover for themselves the rules that govern the naturally ordered reality into which they are born.[20]

Despite the fact that people seek out novelty and change, these different beliefs divide us. Rokeach (1960), Byrne (1961), Byrne and Wong (1962), Rokeach and Rothman (1965) and Stein, Hardyck and Smith (1965) show convincingly that belief congruence between two groups and between two people in a dyad, will promote future intergroup and inter-individual co-operation and favourable evaluations.

Friendship preferences are determined primarily by congruence of beliefs rather than on ethnic or religious grounds (Byrne and Wong, 1962). The obverse of this, belief dissonance, will promote mutual avoidance reactions (and reciprocal associations with members of like-minded other groups) which will be further reinforced by hostile evaluations. Weinreich provides an instructive example.

> Several villages around Murten (in Switzerland) . . . have German and French mother-tongue groups which are exclusively Protestant and Catholic, respectively. The regligious division acts as an even greater barrier to the integration of the communes than the linguistic one, so that in the bilingual but unreligious communes the contact of the two mother-tongue groups is considerably more intimate. A villager as a rule is more conscious of his neighbour's denomination than his mother-tongue. Not only is inter-marriage quite rare, but everyday activities, too, are separated according to denominations. Thus, in the village of Courteman there are two inns: a Protestant and a Catholic one. A surprising amount of linguistic self-sufficiency and unilingualism is possible in a denominationally divided bilingual village like Wallenreid.[21]

Certain other correlates of the "integrative orientation" make sense, if it is seen as a product of belief (values) congruence or desired belief congruence. In the first place, the individual, in acquiring L_2 and sympathy for the values of the L_2 group, may experience feelings of chagrin, uncertainty and regret if the two belief systems are not entirely compatible. This is Dirkheim's "anomie" which refers to a loss of "ties" to one group together with the fearful anticipation of acquiring new "ties" to a possibly hitherto-hostile group. And so Lambert, Gardner, Barik and Tunstall (1963) found that, as English-speaking students progressed to the point where they thought in French, feelings of "anomie" appeared. This is the third and most difficult barrier an individual must surmount before he can acquire excellent performance in L_2 (Lambert, 1963). These are remarkably similar to the "conceptual ties" which, according to Harvey, Hunt and Schroder (1961) keep an individual moored to his social and physical environment, and which clearly overlap with beliefs to some extent. The psychological correlate is a change in one's self-concept, or conceptual system in Harvey, Hunt and Schroder's formulation. For example, Ervin (1964) found that, when bilingual subjects responded to T.A.T. pictures in L_1, they produced themes characteristic of L_1 culture, whereas L_2 responses produced L_2 themes. She reports: "In French the picture elicited a variety of themes of aggression and striving for autonomy. In English the heroine supports the husband in his achievement striving."[22]

Secondly, Lambert (1963) claims that the integrative orientation is the converse of ethnocentrism, or the glorification of in-groups and their belief and the vilification of out-groups and their beliefs, and the evidence is provided by Lambert, Gardner, Barik and Tunstall (1963). This study also reveals a second factor not associated with achievement in French: " . . . an authoritarian disposition, feelings of anomie coupled with both

unfavourable attitudes towards France and instrumental (utilitarian) orientations toward the study of French."[23] In view of all this, Peal and Lambert's (1962) discovery that bilingual children have more favourable attitudes towards the L_2 group than monolingual children is not surprising.

If all this is the case, then the best way in theory of reducing the effects on children's L_2 performance of potential inter-group suspicions, distrust, and even hostility is to bring together representatives of both groups who share the same beliefs (Rokeach, 1960). This may be thoroughly impractical, but a substitute might be the increasing industrialization and urbanization of both groups, especially the French-speaking one in Canada. If, as seems likely, institutional beliefs are being reduced to relevance by technological advances which create problems to which the beliefs provide no satisfactory solution (Wheelis, 1958), then these beliefs will be ignored if they are not altered. Apathy is a state none of the controlling agencies can tolerate because it reduces the power of their commands and of their reinforcements. Accordingly, their belief systems must be accomplished to the demands of their votaries. Under these circumstances, the belief systems of the two groups may regress toward one another to some extent.

An example of such a *rapprochement* is the need for achievement described by McClelland.

> Predominantly traditionalistic, devout Catholic groups like the French Canadians almost certainly have a lower average in achievement level than the general average among the white Protestant population.[24]

In economically successful countries by contrast, loyalties move away from traditional norms and practices which impede economic development, and public opinion, backed by mass advertising, " . . . can be more quickly responsive to changed conditions and can be mobilized more rapidly than oral or religious tradition to support needed social innovations."[25] In short, an orientation to institutional norms and ideology is replaced by an orientation to the needs and demands of people. However, it is fairly obvious that cultural variables like occupational status and the possibility of social mobility promote the need for achievement. McClelland points out that upward-mobile Catholics are not inferior in this variable to the general white Protestant population.

However, resistance to the gradual accommodation of two groups as a result of technological changes is seen in Wylie's (1962) contrast of the upbringing of French and American youth. McClelland (1961) has pointed out that the key variable in high need for achievement is the individual's perception of himself as responsible for making his own decisions. This is a very characteristic American "sacred value" (Getzels, 1958) which, according to Wylie, has no counterpart in France, where the youth has to learn the rules, taught him by the parents, of each segment of society in which he is operating. The American youth, by contrast, has to

figure out the rules for himself. Wylie offers the following instructive comment:

> The Frenchman recognizes that rules are a convenience, but that they are man-made and therefore artificial. The American believes he has discovered his rules for himself and that they reflect the essential structure of reality. For the Frenchman, reality is dual: there is the official reality of man-made rules, but it is only a facade concealing a deeper, more mysterious reality which may be felt by the individual in moments of introspection, or revealed by art or religion. For the American, reality is a unity, and any apparent discrepancy between the ideal and the actuality is essentially immoral.[26]

The relevance of all this for the understanding of *The Catcher in the Rye* or Douglas-Home's *Hot for Certainties* as compared with, say Chevallier's *Sainte Colline,* is quite clear.

Of course individuals can be taught to tolerate dissonant beliefs within themselves (Jones, 1962), and presumably this can be applied to dissonant beliefs among groups. However the principal controlling agencies are usually not keen to allow the individual to entertain alternative formulations, to scrutinize input openly without the benefit of their own preconceived rules, punishments and rewards (Rokeach, 1960). In a "closed" system of mental functioning, belief systems are absorbed from authorities as a network of defences against anxiety and information is evaulated not on its own merit without concern for external and internal pressures but by following the dictates of some administrative superior. Under these cirmumstances, the strange, the foreign, is not welcome evidence of the variety of life, but a threat to be dealt with by avoidance behaviour at best. The mind is "closed" in Rokeach's sense.

A glimpse of this is provided in work by Anisfeld and Lambert (1965) in which monolingual and bilingual French-Canadian children aged about ten years listened to tape recordings of four ten-year-old bilingual girls reading the same passage once in English, once in French, and rated each speaker's personality on fourteen socially-desirable traits. A first finding was that the children speaking French were rated more favourably on all traits and all voices, significantly so on 'good-looking', 'amusing', 'religious', 'self-confident', 'kind', 'nice', trustworthy', 'wise (good)' and 'helpful'. Anisfeld and Lambert report that this is the opposite of their findings in a previous study where adult French Canadians rated the English speakers significantly more favourably on the traits. They suggest that this is because the child is still under the influence of his own local environment of French-Canadian family life and neighbourhood. Later the evaluation changes for the poorer when the adult encounters the larger community of Montreal. Support for this influence can be found in Murphy.

> All this response to the family as the centre of the in-group continues as long as the child is not aware of any conflict between the family and the society in which he lives. If he gradually discovers that the family is in some way rejected

> by the larger group, the shock involves not simply the loss of cherished landmarks or rightness and wrongness: it challenges the central rightness of the self and leads either to self-disparagement or to embittered protest against society.[27]

However, whereas the bilinguals also rated the French voices more favourably on all of the traits, for all voices, not one of the differences was significant at the previously accepted level. In other words, the bilinguals are less susceptible to the general stereotypes of the English held by the French community in which they live perhaps because they have been encouraged by their parents to seek out and communicate with English speakers. Certainly they rate English Canadians more favourably than do the monolinguals and attribute the same evaluation to their parents. Moreover, they identify themselves significantly more closely with English Canadians than do monolinguals, in the sense that they rate the concept "me" and "English Canadian" in a markedly more similar way than do monolinguals. Moreover, the bilinguals rate themselves significantly more favourably than the monolinguals. This takes us back to Rokeach's (1960) finding that, even among southerns, there was a significant correlation between a rejection of Negroes and a rejection of whites, and his apt citation of the man in a *New Yorker* cartoon who is saying, "I hate everybody, regardless of race, creed, or color". One inference is that this is the manifestation of a strict and punitive upbringing which uses criticism (of self and others) as goads to good behaviour and which leads, unavoidably, to the sort of "closed mind" which is prejudiced and ethnocentric, irrespective of nationality.

One is tempted, also to fasten on Peal and Lambert's (1962) findings that bilinguals are significantly more intelligent and further ahead in school than monolinguals, and, on the basis of Hunt's (1964) work, to talk about the comparative richness of bicultural experience enhancing ability levels (Intelligence B) and setting the individual to be motivationally "open" to new stimuli (Rokeach, 1960).

Both from the cognitive and the motivational standpoint, then, some early co-ordinate training in L_2 based on, or accompanied by, contact with L_2 natives and their life style is desirable. The learning of L_2 will be improved and any disagreement will be based on dissonance of beliefs and not on unreal stereotypes. Stein, Hardyck and Smith draw the following conclusion from a study of racial attitudes and preferences of Grade 9 students.

> When subjects are forced to evaluate stimulus individuals in terms of their beliefs, then belief congruence is more important than race. But when the belief component is not provided, spelled out in considerable detail, subjects will react in racial terms on the basis of assumptions concerning the belief systems of others, and of emotional or institutionalized factors. The practical implications of these results are obvious. If people of different races encounter one another under conditions favouring the perception of belief congruence (as, for example, in equal-status contacts) then racial prejudice should be substantially reduced.[28]

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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

CHARLES C. ANDERSON, a graduate of the Universities of Glasgow and Cambridge, is professor of Educational Psychology in the University of Alberta and currently (1965-66) Visiting Fellow in Laval Psychology at Princeton University. He is the author of various papers published in *Behavioral Science, Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Journal of Genetic Psychology, British Journal of Psychology,* and is co-author of a book of readings, *The Cognitive Process.*

DONALD B. BLACK is Registrar designate of the University of Calgary. He is a graduate of the University of Alberta and holds an Ed.D. from Washington. He has been employed by the Canadian Defence Board, Educational Testing Service and most recently, as professor of Educational Psychology at The University of Alberta. Currently, his research interests are in selection procedures and teacher perceptions of the teaching act.

CHESLEY K. BROWN is a candidate for the Ph.D. in Secondary Education at the University of Alberta. He graduated (B.Sc.) from McGill University in 1950. Following twelve years of teaching and administrative experience in Newfoundland, he was awarded a Shell Merit Scholarship for study at Cornell University and in the next year obtained the M.Ed. degree at the University of Alberta. Until recently, he was Assistant Superintendent of Education for Salvation Army Schools in Newfoundland.

DAVID J. CHABASSOL is an associate professor of Educational Psychology at the University of Victoria. A graduate of Acadia, he received his M.Ed. from Toronto and his Ph.D. in Educational Psychology from the University of Alberta. His special interest lies in the field of developmental psychology.

FREDERICK ENNS is a professor in the Department of Educational Administration, University of Alberta. He holds the degrees of M.Ed. and Ph.D. from the University of Alberta. Prior to his appointment to the staff of the University he was a teacher, vice-principal, and principal in schools of Alberta. He is the author of *The Legal Status of the Canadian School Board* and is presently the editor of *The Canadian Administrator.*

DONALD W. KNOWLES is a teaching assistant at the University of Alberta, where he is a candidate for the Ph.D. in Educational Psychology. He received his B.A. and M.Ed. degrees from the University of Alberta. In association with D. B. Black, he has been concerned with the problems of predicting academic success in Alberta.

PETER J. MILLER is currently pursuing a course of studies leading to the Ph.D. degree in History of Education. His special interest is the developments in Anglican education at the turn of the eighteenth century. He holds a B.Sc. (Econ.) degree from the London School of Economics, a postgraduate certificate in Education from the University of Leeds, and B.Ed. and M.Ed. degrees from the University of Alberta.

EUGENE R. OETTING is associate professor of Psychology and Staff Psychologist in the counselling service at Colorado State University. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin. He was director of the counselling service at the University of Calgary at the time this study was completed. He is co-author of the *MMPI Codebook for Counselors* and is presently involved in the study of fundamental counselling processes. The current issue of the *Journal of Counselling Psychology* includes his article, "Examination Anxiety: Prediction, Physiological Response and Relation to Academic Performance."